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EDWARD THE SIXTH.

King of England.

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DOMESTIC MEMOIRS

OF

THE ROYAL FAMILY

AND OF

THE COURT OF ENGLAND;

CHIEFLY AT SHENE AND RICHMOND.

BY FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
SUCCESSORS TO HENRY COLBURN,
13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1860.

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B2045) 2 vols.)

PREFACE.

THERE are many localities in England invested with an enduring interest to Englishmen, in consequence of having been at one time the scene of some important historical incident; but no place possesses so many claims on their regard as a district with which every one fancies himself familiar, because it has long been a favourite holiday resort with all classes of the community. Though much has been said about it, hundreds of pages written, and a picture-gallery painted in its illustration, little beyond the surface of the subject has been thought of. Yet let the reader consider the frequency and the prominence with which it figures in the social history of his country—more particularly for having been honoured by the residence of a long line of sovereigns from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, who there felt themselves peculiarly at home, as may be gathered from the domestic revelations to be found in these volumes. Several different edifices have in this interval been in succession the abodes of Royalty; and while within

their walls transactions of the highest national importance were constantly brought to completion, around and about them flourished many of the most memorable characters in English biography.

Let it suffice here to refer only to the picturesque incidents in the lines of the Plantagenet monarchs—Edward III., Richard II., and Henry V.—to that chivalrous combat for the championship that marked the reign of Edward IV.—to those numerous evidences of intellectual progress that distinguished the rule of the Tudors—to that marvellous melodrama, the several acts of which were the lives of the Stuarts —to the pleasant masquerade held under the auspices of the first two Georges, and to the refreshing glimpses of human nature made manifest in the domestic life of the third. A more tender interest hallows the spot that witnessed the affection of Dudley and Amy Robsart—of Guilford and Lady Jane Grey—of Sir Philip Sidney and Elizabeth Walsingham—of Stella and Dean Swift.

Here, too, was meditated the persecutions of the Protestants when Queen Mary was striving earnestly to gratify her Catholic husband—here was signed the warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots after Queen Elizabeth had striven ineffectually to withstand the fears for her safety of all her Protestant subjects—here also were arranged those measures of defence with which the spirit of that truly great Queen, supported by the wisdom of her ministers, repelled the boastful "Invincible Armada." But

in every century from this source may be gathered memorials of equal value in marking the progress of time and intelligence, which though constantly varying in character, are full of significance, whether they relate to the establishment of a Royal Household, or of a "Royal Society."

In putting these together, the Author, though he has drawn largely on cotemporary authorities, has availed himself of the labours of those industrious historical antiquaries and archæologists who have devoted themselves to the elucidation of obscure points in our annals. He also desires to acknowledge his obligations to that important series of publications which have been recently sent from the press under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department—the Calendars of State Papers. Thirty years of severe literary labour—rarely less than ten hours a-day, sometimes more—have left such an effect upon his sight, as to render him peculiarly grateful for such assistance. Arranged as those volumes have been by scholars not more skilful than conscientious, it is impossible for him to over-estimate a mode of reference for facts, that spares his congested membranes the pain, and his mind the toil, of searching, deciphering, and copying the original papers. To John Bruce, Esq., V.P.S.A., to Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A., to Mrs. Everett Green, and to every one who assisted in producing these trustworthy digests, the author therefore begs to express his sincere thanks.

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DOMESTIC MEMOIRS

OF

THE ROYAL FAMILY.

CHAPTER I.

Cæsar and the Roman Army passing the Thames — Caswallawn, the British King—Latin and Celtic accounts of the cause of the Invasion of Britain — Thamesa under the Romans — Kingston in the Anglo-Saxon period—Shene.

THE first of a long list of illustrious visitors to the district the author is about to illustrate, was Caius Julius Cæsar, who, according to his "Commentaries," twice conquered this island. Much learning and no little ingenuity have been recently displayed, in endeavouring to prove whence his army embarked and where it landed; but the controversionalists have failed to place their several theories on a trustworthy foundation. The passage of the Thames alone comes within the scope of this work. Even at this point, however, there

are contradictory statements. Some writers are satisfied that Cæsar gained the opposite shore at Coway Stakes, near Walton on Thames; because iron-headed stakes have there been found in the bed of the river. The Britons, under the direction of their wise and valiant commander-in-chief, Caswallawn, would naturally have defended every available passage into his territory; and, as the Romans passed through Kent into Surrey, towards Hertfordshire, the river ought to have been forded in the direction of Kingston. In the Saxon period there was a ford here, which, to distinguish it from others, was called *Morford*—the great ford; and this is likely to have been the one to which the invaders advanced.

Cæsar mentions how much he was harassed by strong parties of the natives, who, from the summits of the hills and the recesses of the forest, that lay near his route, rushed upon his legions, and more than once prevented them continuing their march, till the arrival of powerful reinforcements. Time has produced many changes in the face of the country since his visit. The gloomy forests have been broken up into pleasant woods; but the Surrey Hills, save a little improvement in appearance, have undergone no alteration. A striking change, however, has been effected in the aspect of the Thames. Much of the land on the south bank was periodically under water, forming extensive marshes and lagunes—which the invaders would necessarily avoid. On the elevated land above, the soil, from time immemorial, has been favourable to the growth of

large oaks, and the proximity of such trees to a river would, at this date, indicate one of those sacred groves wherein the Britons maintained colleges of priestly philosophers who possessed so high a reputation for learning, that, as Cæsar acknowledges, the noblest youths of the continent were sent to them for their education. Accepting this suggestion, the well-known line of Collins—

"In yonder grave a Druid lies,"

conveys a truth beyond its apparent meaning.

The Celtic name of this district we cannot identify, nor can we confidently pronounce on the social condition of the inhabitants. Our impression is, that the latter were like neither the tattooed New Zealanders seen by Captain Cook, nor the luxurious Peruvians visited by Pizarro—but much more closely resembled the warlike Kirghese of the Steppes, as described by a recent traveller in Central Asia.[1] The British chiefs or kings representing the Kirghese Sultans, who are lords of large tracts of arable and pasture, and proprietors of innumerable horses, herds, and flocks; live in a kind of rude magnificence, surrounded by their bards, priests, and feudal dependents; and vary the enjoyments of hunting wild animals, with predatory attacks upon the possessions of their neighbours.

If Cæsar last halted, as has been alleged, at Wimbledon, in his march from Sandwich, he would lose no time in entering upon the territories of his ally, Mandu-

[1] Seven Years in Siberia and Chinese Tartary. By T. W. Atkinson, F.G.S., F.R.G.S. 1858.

bratius, son of Incanuentius the last king of the Trinobantes, who had been killed by the commander-in-chief of the Britons.[2] Why, we are not informed. Mandubratius escaped the same fate by flight to Gaul, where he had claimed the protection of the Roman commander, and subsequently accompanied the invading army. It is not at all unlikely that the negociations which Cæsar caused to be opened with some of the states of Britain,[3] previous to his first invasion, had been with Imanuentius whose treachery, as it would have been considered, had thus been punished.

The tribes mentioned in the "Commentaries" are the natives of Cantium (Kent), the Trinobantes, natives of Middlesex and Essex; the Cenigmagni, the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge; the Segontiaci, who occupied portions of Hampshire and Berkshire; the Ancalites or Atrebatii, who peopled both banks of the Thames; part of Berkshire and Surrey being also in the possession of the Bibroci; and the Cassi, supposed to have been located in Hertfordshire.

Manning and Bray, the county historians,[4] give Surrey to the Segontiaci; and Carte, the historian of the kingdom,[5] to the Cenigmagni. Much learning has been employed to find "a local habitation and a name" for each of these Latinized appellations, but few entirely

[2] Lib. v., cap. 20.

[3] Lib. iv., cap. 21.

[4] Introduction to "History and Antiquities of Surrey," 1.

[5] History of England, i., 94. Camden (Britannia, i., 167), on the authority of the geographer, Ptolemy, gives Surrey, Sussex, and the Hampshire coast, to the Phunoi or Regni.

satisfactory arguments can be brought forward in favour of the theories that have been advanced on their behalf. The several tribes ought to have become known to Cæsar by their British titles, but of these their Celtic character has not been preserved by him. He describes the men of Kent as superior to the natives of the inland districts in civilization, but as he did not advance much more than sixty miles from the sea, his opportunities for ascertaining this were limited. As the island had frequent intercourse with the continent, and the several tribes with one another, there is no reason why the people on the banks of the Thames should be less civilized than those on the sea-shore; and, without trusting too much to the glowing pictures of Welsh poets, there can be no question that the subjects of Caswallawn were rich in herds, flocks, and horses, and were not disposed to part with them without a struggle.

We may now suppose the British Commander-in-chief retreating from the last of the Surrey hills; having previously sent divisions of his troops to harass the invaders on their march. He resolved to pass to the other side of the river, knowing that the further he drew the enemy from his resources, the more easily would it be to cut him off from his camp, and subsequently crush him by a general combination of the tribes. Cæsar must shortly afterwards have advanced to the summit of this hill, and there have taken up a position, whence he could have watched his legions defile past him down into the valley beyond, on their

way to the ford of which they were in search. If we might be permitted to speculate on his personal appearance, we should say that he sat on his war-horse, wearing over his cuirass the *paludimentum*, fastened on the right shoulder by a *fibula*, and, with a short-bladed sword grasped in his right hand, pointed out the line of march. His polished helmet and breast-plate glittered in the sun, and his buskins of purple leather in their elaborate decoration, displayed the latest Roman fashion. But this, in all probability, was not his only occupation. He may have been engaged, as was his custom, in two or three at once—questioning a guide, directing his lieutenants, and dictating to his secretary[6].

Among the officers nearest his person, let us at a venture name Crassus the rich, Munatius Plaucus, and Lucius Rossius, Roman patricians; with C. Fabius, who shortly afterwards distinguished himself in a campaign on the mainland; and Caius Trebonius, by the interest of his commander raised to the dignity of Praetor and Consul—obligations repaid with the basest ingratitude.

In the rear of this circle may have waited a troop of

[6] In a letter of Marcus Tullius Cicero it is stated that Cæsar wrote to him from Britain that his brother Quintius had been left in Gaul. Several of Cæsar's communications to his friends were dated from the island—in particular, one to Servilius, and another in which he professes to have discovered a new world, and avers that his alleged conquest, instead of being embraced by the ocean, appeared to encompass it. — *Panegyric of Eumenius on Constantius.*

light cavalry armed with javelins, and close at hand a guard of youthful *hastati*, with long spears and oval shields, wearing, in sheaths at the right side, their strong, sharp swords. The Roman army in several divisions, horse, foot, baggage, provision-waggons, and warlike machines, in compact masses descended the hill, with the marsh and river on their right, and the valley in their front. Joyful acclamations doubtless rose from the legions as they recognized their leader, while cries of surprise and pleasure must have burst from the lips of many, as the wide expanse of landscape opened before them after reaching the summit of the hill—reminding them of the Campagna and other home prospects in Italy.

Observing, on the other side of the river, parties of the enemy hastening eastward, the Roman General may have added a few orders to his lieutenants, as they galloped off to join their divisions; then the future Imperator, with one comprehensive glance at the scene that demanded his admiration, rode slowly down the declivity, and was soon lost among the masses of his troops.

In a few hours the invaders arrived at their destination, which was easily distinguishable by the preparations made for their reception. The order was at once given to force a passage. The trumpets sounded the advance, and the light cavalry with drawn swords and javelins poised, dashed into the river in a compact body, without heeding the shouts of defiance that arose from their numerous foes on the opposite bank. The infantry followed with equal ardour—though the water covered their tunics and defensive armour — holding

their arms above their helmeted heads, and keeping a steady footing by means of the short spikes in their *caligæ*. Conspicuous among these were the *Principes*, who had already proved their valour, and the veteran *Triarii*, who had served under their commander in Spain and Gaul. There were also *Funditores* with slings, and *Sagittarii* with bows and arrows—masters of an art in which their present enemies were to excel the world.

With their eagles and other military insignia displayed, to indicate rallying-points in case of separation, the cohorts pressed forward to attack the British position. Here might be discerned Caswallawn in his war-chariot, watching the progress of the invaders, with other kings or chiefs of tribes, conferring among themselves at a little distance, as if dissatisfied with the aspect of affairs. Groups of their countrymen hurried to and fro brandishing lances, and battle-axes, and shouting war-cries, their long hair floating in the breeze, and their shaggy moustaches giving to their beardless faces a peculiarly warlike expression; but the skin garments on the majority formed no defence against the forest of sharp blades gleaming above the water, while their weapons were not likely to make much impression on opponents defended by scale-armour, metal head-coverings, and strong shields. Little, however, as they could trust in such protection, some evidently thought it unnecessary, for they were divesting themselves of their apparel, to fight with more freedom.

In a commanding position a venerable figure might have been seen, in a flowing white mantle, wearing on his head a crown of oak-leaves, and in his breast mystic ornaments, standing in an attitude as though invoking the Deity, whose priest he was, to interpose in favour of his worshippers; while a tumultuous chorus of war songs, shouts, prayers, and execrations, rose up to the sky from the excited mass by whom he was surrounded.

Caswallawn discovered that his principal allies were abandoning him; and, satisfied that with his remaining force he could not make a successful stand against so formidable an enemy, reluctantly gave orders to retire to the fortified city, that lay a few miles in his rear. In a few minutes the roar of battle, which had sounded with such loud defiance, gradually diminished—only a few desperate men chose to stay and seek a glorious death, at the hands of their hated foes; and when the Roman cavalry had forded the river, the British army had disappeared in the forest. We cannot follow either force. It is well known that Caswallawn's stronghold was no protection to him. On learning that his well-planned attack on the Roman encampment by the sea-shore had failed, while his country was being destroyed by the invaders; and knowing that the British kings had deserted his standard, he was induced to sue for, or accept, proposals of peace. Cæsar claimed the island as a conquest; but the islanders regarded his second departure as a second defeat.

If Caswallawn had written despatches, they might have cast a new light upon a portion of the "Commentaries" of his celebrated military opponent; but though we can only trace his hand in the hard blows he gave, his countrymen have preserved memorials of him, some of which may appropriately be introduced here. According to an ancient British poem, attributed to Taliesin, he was the son of Beli the Great, a British king, whose sovereignty lasted forty years; and as Beli was the son of Manogan, also a king, his family must have possessed regal power for two or three generations at least. The poet says:—"Greatly do I honour thee, victorious Beli, son of Manogan, the king. Do thou preserve the glory of the Honey Island of Beli." [7]

Caswallawn had a brother, named Lludd, the worthy whose name is preserved in the metropolitan thoroughfare, that leads from Fleet Street to St. Paul's; the reputation of the former is still preserved in those primitive chronicles, the Welsh Triads, as one of the war-kings of Britain, and he is stated to have led an army against the Roman invaders of 61,000 men. According to Cæsar, the island was invaded because the islanders had assisted the Gaulish tribes of the mainland in their contests with the Romans; according to British tradition, the war was caused by the abduction of a British

[7] "Fur itti iolaf
Buddyg Veli
A Manhogan
Rhi rhygeidwei
Ynys fel Feli."

Myv. Archæ., i. 73.

Helen, called Flur (the daughter of Mygnach Gorr) by Mwrchan, a prince of Gaul, in alliance with the Romans, who had seized her for the Roman commander. As Caswallawn is also named in the Triads, as one of "the three faithful lovers of Britain," in consequence of the adventure into which he was led in his efforts to recover this young lady, there is little doubt that Flur was his mistress. He passed over at the head of a British army into Gascony, attacked the ravisher, slew 6000 of his troops, secured the damsel, and carried her home in triumph. Probably the fair Flur was one of the British pearls, the possession of which, according to Suetonius, was the real object of the invasion; this delicate point, however, we cannot establish to our satisfaction. An additional reference or two to these early members of our royal family may not be unacceptable.

Of the two sons of Beli, Lludd, according to one authority,[8] for his famous householding is to be remembered in England. He commanded his household officers to have it in daily custom, to cover the tables in his hall from eight in the morning till seven in the night. His daily diet was not much in subtle and delicate viands, but he kept solemnly, with all such good stuff as could be gotten, the four great feasts of the year, with open proclamations in every country for all manner of people to come thither. He disposed his domesticated men to lodge most part of them nightly within his Court for his proper guard, every man

[8] See preamble to "Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV."

stuffed and tended at the king's costs, of such defence as he could best deal withal."[9]

The same author assures his readers that Lludd's brother, whom he calls "Cassibellan," "standeth here for a special note, which, after his *second triumph* upon the Emperor (Cæsar), gave out his royal commandments to all the gentles of Britain to come with their wives to magnify his feast, for which he slew forty thousand kine and oxen, a hundred thousand sheep, thirty thousand deer and other wild beasts of the wood, besides the divers kind of pullayle (poultry), conies, wild fowl and tame of sea and land, with much other purveyance of stuff of victual; with many disguisings plays, minstrelsy and sports."

It is not improbable that the learned author of the Black Book of Edward the Fourth would have found it difficult to quote historical authority for most of his statements respecting these British princes; but much the same degree of credit is due to the representations of Cæsar, of the social state of Britain at the time of his visit. From his own showing, the inhabitants of the valley of the Thames, and the other native tribes with whom he came in contact, must have been equal in civilization to the natives of the mainland; for the large proportion of the British army acting as charioteers, implies the possession of wealth and manufacturing skill in metals, and, in fabrics necessary for harness and clothing.

[9] A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in divers reigns. 1790, p. 17.

If Cæsar succeeded in carrying back with him the fair object of contention, it must have been the only advantage he derived from his alleged conquest; and if the classical student recals to mind his notorious gallantry and boasted descent from Venus,[10] this feature in the British version of the Roman invasion will seem more than probable, while the inconsistency and indistinctness of the Latin narrative, can scarcely fail to excite a suspicion of its honesty. We cannot here find space to point out the numerous obvious omissions in Cæsar's account of his proceedings during the few months he remained on the island, but one is sufficiently suggestive. He does not mention having beheld a British woman, and only refers to the sex in the extraordinary statement that ten or twelve of the tribes enjoyed a community of wives, the children of whom were always affiliated to the acknowledged husband of the mother. After mature reflection, the conclusion is inevitable, that the Conqueror acted prudently in expediting his return to the continent, and that the conquered had cause of rejoicing in his speedy retreat.

After Caswallawn had feasted his faithful retainers, had rebuilt his city, and put his ravaged lands again into cultivation, it is not unreasonable to imagine that he turned his attention to the punishment of the kings or chieftains who had deserted him at the passage of the Thames.

[10] Pliny asserts lib. iv., c. 517, that on Cæsar's return to Rome, he dedicated to Venus a breastplate richly set with British pearls.

In the Mabinogi, called "Branwen the daughter of Llyr," *(Branwen verch Llyr)* when the seven Britons who escaped from the invasion of Ireland were travelling with the head of Bendegeid Vran towards Harlech, it is described that they met a multitude of both sexes; and to the enquiry of the former for news, were answered, "We have none, save that Caswallawn, the son of Beli, has conquered the island of the mighty (Britain), and is crowned king in London!"[11] In their absence Caswallawn had attacked the seven worthies who had been left to take care of the kingdom during the absence of the leaders of the invasion, and having by surprise slain six, the heart of Caradoc the survivor, who was Caswallawn's cousin, broke through grief.

However interesting may have been the accounts afterwards in circulation in the villas of the Roman capital, of the marvellous country added to the empire by the all-conquering Cæsar, it is quite certain that no attempt was made to colonize it, or to maintain the alleged sovereignty. The valley of the Thames was left for a hundred years to improve in beauty under the hands of its native cultivators, and the successors of Caswallawn ruled over "the honey island," as it was styled by the bardic chroniclers, in increasing prosperity; but the Roman thirst for conquest, perhaps the traditions of the lovely prospect seen by the army of Cæsar when descending the memorable hill that overlooked the Tamesis, instigated another generation to attempt a similar adventure. How successive invasions

[11] "Mabinogion." By Lady Charlotte Guest, part vi.

were met, and army after army pursued its progress in the island, till the more warlike tribes were obliged to fall back upon the mountainous districts of Wales and Scotland, must be known to every educated reader. The best portion of Britain became Roman, and among the stations which diffused over the land the refinements of Latin civilization was one called Thamesa, in Britannia Prima, which united Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. The number and beauty of the bronzes and other articles of luxury that have been discovered in the bed of the river between Barnes and Kingston, are undeniable evidences that the beauties of this district were appreciated by its foreign residents. Dr. Wright, a most painstaking archæologist, has lately proved, that while we have been lavishing our admiration, with infinite labour, on the far-off attractions of subterranean cities, we have had under our feet similar antiquities of our own nearly as worthy of exploration. We believe that Uriconium is only the beginning of a new chapter in the social history of this island, and that the spade will in due time explain all that the pen has left unchronicled relating to the manners, customs, arts, and pursuits of our Anglo-Roman ancestors.

When Roman dominion ceased in Britain, the walled fortresses and beautiful villas were severally razed to the ground, or left to gradual interment under the rubbish heaped upon the site. Thamesa fared worse than many stations, because the new invaders were so thoroughly sensible of the beauty of the neighbourhood, that they established a settle-

ment on the ruins, which grew into a town of such importance, that several of the Saxon kings were crowned there, and made it their ordinary residence. It was thence called Kyngeston, which name it has preserved.

Though the name "Shene" must have been given to this district by the Saxons, probably soon after their settlement in this portion of the island, there is no such appellation in any Saxon document or work. The place must, from its vicinity to the royal town, have often been visited by Saxon chiefs and their retainers, in their hunting, fishing, and hawking excursions. It has been stated that a palace was built here by Edward the Confessor, and that it was known by the title *Shene*, or resplendent.[12] The word occurs frequently in the works of our earliest English poets, particularly in the metrical romances. Chaucer repeats it many times.

"And eke the garden full of branches green,
There as the fresh Emily, the shene,
Was in her walk and roamed up and down."

"And for to make it strong,
Every pillar the temple to sustain,
Was tonne great,[13] of iron bright and shene."[14]

[12] Referring to its antiquity, a learned writer says:—

"Et jam summa procul suberbientis
Shenæ culmina splendide coruscant,
Quas rex Septimius serenus œdes
Montem nomine divitem vocavit
A quâdam regiunculâ Brigantum,
Hæres cujus erat domo paternâ."

Lelandi Cygnea Cantio.

[13] Of a tun's circumference.

[14] The Knight's Tale—"Canterbury Tales."

Its general signification is "bright"—but it is used also in the sense of refulgently beautiful. It is scarcely necessary to add, that it has become Anglicised into "shine," and is preserved in the German "schön."

Though we cannot put forward any trustworthy authority to prove the Anglo-Saxon glories of the locality which bore this attractive title, the latter of itself is surely suggestive of its importance. It is time, however, to enter upon its history as a royal residence, as it appeared under a new dynasty, and with a later generation.

CHAPTER II.

The King's Manor House—Its Architectural Arrangements in the time of Edward III. — The Hall — The Solar — Kitchen and Garden—Hunting—Hawking—Chess.

In the Roll of Battle Abbey, printed in Holinshed,[15] will be found the name of Belet. He who bore it followed the Conqueror from Normandy, apparently as a member of his household; and having done good service at Hastings, he, or his heir, was rewarded with a grant of serjeantry—that is, obtained lands in Surrey to hold by personal service to the King of England as cup-bearer.

These lands were called *Shene*—the Shene of Edward the Confessor. There is no mention of this place in Domesday Book, yet it has been stated that the name occurs in a contemporary MS. in the Bodleian Library—such reference we have not been so fortunate as to discover; nevertheless, Shene may

[15] "Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland." By Ralph Holinshed. London, 1807-8. 6 vols., 4to.

have been included in Kingston, of which demesne it long formed a portion. We possess evidence that Henry I. granted it to Michael Belet, on the condition already mentioned. King Henry died in the year 1135, and the manor continued in possession of the Belet family till after Henry III. ascended the throne. In the 14th year of the reign of this king—Michael Belet's sole child and heiress, who was the ward of Winnud de Rayley, having died unmarried—Michael's brother claimed, as next heir, and, having paid a fine of ten marks for the relief of his lands, did homage for the estate. He enjoyed it but for a short time, for his life terminated a few months after he had entered into possession. He left two daughters—Emma, who became the wife of Jordan Oliver; and Alicia, who married John de Valletort. The latter, in the 28th year of this king's reign, was fined twenty shillings for his moiety of the fee, payable at the knighting of the king's son. Henry III. died in 1273, soon after which the estate was leased to William de Windsor, whose ancestor, Walter Fitz Otho, had been made castellan of Windsor Castle by William I.—hence the change of patronymic. William de Windsor died two years after his marriage, and the manor of Shene was transferred to a new tenant—Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells. This prelate secured the estate by means of a fresh grant from the Crown, and obtained another of free warren; he moreover purchased from De Valletort, who had acquired his sister-in-law's as well as his wife's title, the rights of the Belet family, and held possession

till the 31st of the reign of Edward I., when he died, and from failure of service, or otherwise, the estate reverted to the Crown.

King Edward I. included Shene among the royal residences. Whether he built a house on the manor we are not informed, but as the property previously is described as a messuage, garden, dove-cote, and park, it is doubtful whether the first could have afforded sufficient accommodation for himself and his martial retainers when the king gave audience in 1305 to the commissioners sent from Scotland to arrange the submission of the Scottish government.[16]

There is on record more than one visit of Edward I. to his manor of Shene. In his wardrobe account there occurs a note of expenses incurred here. State documents of the reign Edward II. are dated from the same place, including, in the year 1310 a grant of the barony of Alnwick to a member of the Percy family.

In the Liberate Rolls will be found many entries of repairs and improvements directed to be made in the Royal Palaces or Manor-Houses; among them figure prominently two in Surrey—Kennington (17, 21, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37, 50 Henry III.), and Guildford (24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 40, 41, 42, 45, 52 of the same reign)—the king frequently residing at both; but no such notices are to be met with, either in these or in the Close Rolls relating to Shene. At the succession of Edward I. these

[16] Matthew of Westminster. "And the aforesaid Scots entered into the engagement, touching the sacred body and gospels of Christ and other relics at *the manor of Shene on the Thames.*"

interesting memorials cease; indeed it becomes difficult to discover any cotemporary notices of equal authenticity, respecting the buildings in course of erection or repair at the cost of the Crown. Of the original structure of the royal manor-house of Shene we can give no such information—but various memoranda, principally of a subsequent date, may assist in affording the reader a notion of its principal features as they existed in the fourteenth century.

A mansion built for Edward I. in 1285, at Woolmer, in Hampshire, will convey a tolerably correct idea of the cotemporary country-houses of the better sort. This building consisted of an upper chamber, seventy-two feet long, and twenty-eight wide, with two chimneys, a small chapel, and two wardrobes, of masonry, which cost eleven pounds in workmen's wages.

There were six glass windows or lights of the chapel, or wardrobes. Besides the chamber or chapel, there was a hall wholly constructed of wood plastered over. The windows of the chamber and hall had plain wooden shutters; a kitchen built of wood and plastered completed the house. It was provided with leaden gutters and roofed with wooden shingles, of which the enormous quantity of sixty-three thousand and six hundred were used, besides six thousand laths. The interior of the hall was plastered and painted, as was also that of the chamber; the floors appear to have been boarded. A small grass plat or garden was made for the Queen's use.[17]

[17] Dawson Turner. "Some Account of Domestic Architecture in

This description is taken from a Pipe Roll (13th Edw. I.), containing the builder's bill of expenses, in which six shillings and two pence appears to have been the cost of the herbagio or garden, and eighteen shillings are charged for painting the hall and chamber. These sums should be multiplied by thirty to give an approximation to their amount according to present value; it should, however, be borne in mind, that in Edward I.'s time, as in that of Edward III., work done for the king, particularly in building, was paid for at the lowest estimate. But whatever may have been the original structure and cost of the royal manor-house at Shene, in the usual course it underwent alterations, additions, and improvements.

The magnificence affected by the sovereigns of England of the Norman race, is stated by many competent authorities;[18] and the Plantagenets were quite as partial to kingly splendour and profusion. Wherever the king went the court went, and to the king's residence was sure to resort a train of the great barons with their numerous retinues, only a portion of whom could hope to find accommodation in the palace. A

England, from the Conquest to the close of the Thirteenth Century," p. 60. Oxford, 1851.

[18] "In their court they shewed their magnificence in the stateliness of their palaces, the richness of their furniture, the splendour and number of their retinue, the plenty of their provisions, and the like. The Court was the centre of resort for all the barons and great men of the realm, who, being peers of the King's court, gave, as occasion required, their attendance there, and more particularly as many of them were invested with the great offices of the King's Court."—*Madox, History of the Exchequer.*

mansion of considerable dimensions must have existed at Shene, or the king could not have remained there with his large family and immense establishment; and as there is abundant evidence that Edward III. did remain there, it must be presumed that Shene was not inferior to the other manor-houses frequented by his Court. A record of the period mentions a chapel at Shene, which proves it to have been a place of some resort.

Domestic architecture in England at this period was stimulated into excellence by a general impulse given to its development by the king and his nobles. The number of habitable buildings used by the aristocracy, erected or improved during the reign of Edward III. is enormous, and though generally designed as manor-houses, to be afterwards crenellated, especial care seems to have presided over the structure to give it the aspect of a castle and the accommodation of a palace, on a larger or smaller scale.[19]

Some existing remains of mansions of the first class—

[19] "The domestic architecture of this brilliant epoch in our history is scarcely less worthy of attention than the ecclesiastical. Considered as mere masonry, it is impossible to surpass the accuracy, the firmness, the high finish of the work of this period. The sculpture is equally beautiful, and in its wonderful fidelity to nature is unrivalled. Nor was the skill of the architect behind that of his workman; the admirable manner in which the plans and designs are arranged, and the ingenuity with which difficulties are overcome, may be equalled, but cannot be surpassed."—*Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard II.*, *p.* 3.

as the ecclesiastical palaces at Norwich, Lincoln, Wells, Southwell, and St. David's, and the fine hall at Penshurst—convey a fair notion of how people of distinction were lodged in those days; and the character of the manorial house at Shene, though different from such edifices, could not have been without striking claims to attention as a cotemporary structure. Though we miss the details given at length in the Liberate and Close Rolls, of the works executed for the king in the preceding century, sufficient evidence is available to satisfy the mind of the inquirer that the same, or similar, contracts for building, altering, and repairing, were entered into quite as frequently. The king's manor-houses were so numerous, that William of Wykeham, clerk of the works at Windsor, was directed to sell several as unnecessary. Shene was one of the reserved.[20]

Externally the manor-house often partook of a castellated character, and was surrounded by a ditch, having a drawbridge and gatehouse, and palisades, or walls within its circle, as in the structure known as the moat-house at Ightham, Kent—the offices being temporary wooden structures built without it—an arrangement against surprise that prevailed generally in habitations of a superior kind. During the Edwardian period of our history, the house of every person of rank was made as secure as possible against sudden attack.

[20] "Those sold were of Folly John, Winkfield, Ascot, New Windsor, Old Windsor, Slough, and Eton."—*Parker, Domestic Architecture in England, p.* 9.

There is scarcely any description of a feudal dwelling to be met with that does not mention the moat, and many of the romancists dwell upon it as though they considered it as essential to the picturesque as the doors and windows of the building.

The palace described in the romance of "Sir Bevis of Hampton," though not quite cotemporary, possessed features that most regal edifices had in common.

"There was King Bradmond's palace,
Was never none richer the story says;
Full all the windows and the walls
Were painted with gold, both towers and halls;
Pillars and doors all were of brass,
Windows of latten were set with glass;
It was so rich in many wise,
That it was like a Paradise;
About the palace there was a dyke,
In breadth and deepness there was none like;
Over the dyke a bridge there lay,
That man and beast might pass away;
Under the bridge were sixty bells,
Right as the romance tells,
That there might no man pass in,
But all they ring with a gin.
At the bridge end stood a tower,
Painted with gold and with azure;
Rich it was to behold,
Thereon stood an eagle of gold;
His eyes were of precious stones,
Of great virtue for the nones;
The stones were so rich and bright,
That all the palace shone of light."

It certainly deserved the name of Shene, if Shene it was not.

Through a porch, occasionally by an external staircase, the visitor entered "the sovereign chamber," or hall, that took in the height and a large moiety of the length of the entire dwelling. It possessed a carved open timber roof, having in the centre an opening or ventilator, in the form of a spiral turret or lantern, called a *louvre*, through which the smoke from the fireplace underneath escaped. Open timber roofs still exist in halls at Great Malvern, Baggely, Sutton Courtney, and in various other structures. On the walls, when not covered with tapestry, there were paintings in compartments, on which much gilding and rich coloring were lavished. In the king's palaces the subjects were usually regal, including an imposing display of armorial bearings. The floor at one end was raised and carpeted as a dais. Against the wall, which was covered with the costliest arras, stood a throne or elevated chair, surmounted by a canopy for the king. The queen, the royal family, and their principal guests sat on each side of the king.

The occupiers of this dais faced the company at meals before a table, no one sitting opposite; an arrangement that permitted the host to see all his guests, while the latter had an uninterrupted view of their sovereign, the members of his family, and of their illustrious associates—it also admitted of the more easy service of the personal attendants. In the illuminated MSS. of this era, the royal host is always seen thus seated, the carver, sewer, and cupbearer performing their several functions. In the

"*Roman du Quête du Saint Graal*," in the British Museum, King Arthur, Queen Ginevra, and Merlin, stand between two ladies on one side of a round table covered for a banquet, the carver at hand, the cup-bearer kneeling in front, and a minstrel playing on his instrument on the opposite side. In a MS. romance of Alexander, in the Bodleian Library, the royal group sit on one side of a long table; before them a crowned minstrel is seated playing on a small harp, having a little dog led by a broad riband, and an attendant is in waiting handing something to the King. The same arrangement of the high table, with the carver, sewer, and cup-bearer in front, and a state personage with a gold chain, probably the Lord Chamberlain, or Lord High Steward, at the side, apparently superintending the service, may be seen in another illumination.[21] The table-cloth bore viands of various kinds, tankards, bowls, and cups of gold, enriched with precious stones, and enamelled; other articles of gold and silver plate, knives with hafts of silver or ivory, spoons, and saucers, among which large gold or silver dishes were conspicuous. The side-tables were similarly furnished, though not with the same magnificence.

This high or chief table is frequently mentioned by writers of the fourteenth century; it is stated in the romance on the life of Alexander:—

> "To the palace they gone ride,
> And found this feast in all pride:
> Forth goeth Alexander sans fable,
> Right to *the high table*."

[21] Additional MS., 12,208, fol. 126.

Chaucer, in one of the Canterbury Tales, mentions the custom.

"Up he rideth to *the high board.*"

A bay window usually lighted the dais, having at a later date a recess for a buffet, on which the gold and silver plate not in use was arranged. At one end a door opened towards the cellar, and another upon a staircase leading to the *solar*, or king's chamber, opposite the dais; at the other extremity of the hall was the screen or spur, with a door at each end—the first being the principal entrance, the other led into the court for the domestics, by different doors to the kitchen and buttery. Over the screen was the minstrels, gallery, and during the banquet it was filled with wind and stringed instrumental players, who were expected to mark the entrance of the king and his principal guests with a grand flourish; an honour that also accompanied the appearance of the more important dishes. Behind the screen was placed a lavatory or cistern, supplied with water, for the company to wash before the banquet; towels and all other things necessary for ablution were close at hand. Sometimes the lavatory was in the middle of the hall; but as this was the usual place for the hearth, we do not see how the site could accommodate the two elements at once; nevertheless in a romance, called "Le Bone Florence of Rome," we are told,—

"There cometh water in a conduit,
Through a lion runneth it,
That wrought is all of gold;
And that standeth in the midst of the Hall;
A hundred Knights and Ladies small

Might wash there, and they would
All at once on that stone."

Various subjects were painted on the walls of the royal residences—legends allegorical and heraldic, sometimes incidents in the career of the more adventurous kings, styled in contemporary records "a history," occasionally passages in the lives of British saints, not unfrequently stories from classic mythology, and more often legends of love and chivalry. In a feast represented in an illumination in the Luttrell Psalter, on the walls of the banqueting-room, the last source appears to have been preferred; and there is a passage in the French romance "Guigamar," showing that Ovid's Art of Love had suggested a tableau in which Venus performed the principal character.

The cloth was spread upon moveable tables, consisting of boards on tressles, that could be put out of the way when the meal was over, and the space required for other purposes. From this custom we derive the terms "hospitable board," "board wages," "boarding-house," "boarding-school." In addition to the usual members of the household, employed to give attendance at meals, esquires and the sons of nobles and knights usually waited upon their parents, seniors, superiors, and, not unfrequently, on inferiors. The courtly Ipomydon, as we learn from the romance of that name, was taught—

"Afterward to serve in hall,
Both to great and to small,
Before the king meat to carve,
High and low fair to serve."

A familiar passage too in Chaucer's description of the Esquire in his prologue to the Canterbury Tales, declares—

> "Courteous he was, lowly and serviceable,
> And carved before his father at the table."

The banquet, therefore, was rendered more characteristic as a chivalrous spectacle, by the earnest attention of numerous young and handsomely clad attendants, to the comfort of the guests.

Conspicuous among the tankards and drinking-vessels at the time of dessert was the ship for spices. Edward III. possessed one of silver gilt, resting on four wheels, and drawn by dragons; its value, according to weight, was £12 7*s.* 4*d.*[22] And an illumination in a contemporary MS. represents a youth in a tunic and tight leggings, with a cap and feather on his head, wearing very pointed high shoes, and a sword by his side, carrying one of these vessels apparently to table![23] The wassail-bowl, with its engraved or enamelled legend outside, or its figure of St. Christopher on the bottom within, was another favourite drinking vessel; it was generally made of maple, hence called a mazer, with an embossed rim of silver gilt, and a cover of the same metal. When artificial light was required, the table was further enriched with candelabras of silver, of rich design.

Sometimes the procession of the attendants entering the hall to serve the banquet was headed by a bagpiper.

[22] MS. Cott. Brit. Mus. Nero. cviii. p. 319.
[23] Royal MS. 14. E. IV. fol. 244, h.

In the Luttrell Psalter is an illumination representing one so marching, his hair finely dressed, his pipe ornamented with a cognizance, and his wind-bag terminating in a crowned head. That the pipe and tabour were ordinary accompaniments to the feasts of the kings of England, we learn from the romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," wherein it is said—

> "From kitchen came the first course,
> With pipes, and trumps, and tabours."

In the romance "Amis and Amilioun" we learn—

> "In king's court it is law,
> Trumps in hall to meat gan blaw."

And in "Ipomydon"—

> "Trumps to meat gan blow,
> Clarions, and other minstrels mo."

In short, all who could play, were expected to make the most of their skill upon their several instruments, on such occasions.

According to a poetical life of Alexander the Great—

> "Merry is it in hall to hear the harp,
> The minstrels sing, the jugglers carp."

Sufficiently suggestive of the nature of *post prandiary* amusements in the fourteenth century.

The payment of the minstrels in the king's service appears to have been liberal. We learn from the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer (44th Edward III.) that John of Hampton, Lambkin the tabourer, and Arnold the

piper, with some of their professional brethren, received in the year 1370 a grant of 7½d. a-day for life. These performers, however, were evidently in general estimation, of a humble grade. Harpers, particularly if they could sing lays or metrical legends to their own accompaniments, were much prized. They often came long distances, sometimes from abroad, to be present on great festal occasions, when they were sure to be amply rewarded with money, rich robes, and handsome steeds. In the romance of "William and the Werwolf" we are told—

> "Of the meed to minstrels that meantime was given,
> Of robes with rich pane, and other riches great,
> Stern steeds and strong, and other stout gifts."

In "Sir Eglamour" we learn also—

> "Minstrels that were there in that stoun,
> In gifts were worth an hundred pound."

This sum was distributed among the musicians who attended at the marriage of Margaret, daughter of Edward I.

The sleeping accommodation at the royal palaces was rarely sufficient for the demand, though the hall was turned into a general dormitory for the domestics, and others were content to find their night's rest where they could. The principal bed-chambers were reserved for the royal family, guests of the highest distinction, and the chief officers of the household. The insufficiency of the king's manors to lodge the court often caused inns to be established in their neighbourhood;

and it is not unlikely that the sign of the Tabard and the Bell, familiar to the readers of Chaucer as the principal taverns in Southwark at the time of the Pilgrimage, were repeated at Shene. Some of the royal retinue may also have been accommodated at the grange and the adjoining farm buildings. A description of the furniture of the royal bedchambers will be given in a subsequent chapter.

The kitchen attached to the king's manor at Shene must have been of large dimensions, like the existing examples at Durham and Glastonbury Abbey; considerable space being necessary for the extensive operations there daily proceeding, and for the vast number of servants employed. Some illuminations in the Luttrell Psalter furnish curious illustrations of the culinary art, but give a very inadequate idea of the busy scene that was going on during the preparation of a royal feast, with the portly master cooks directing their numerous active subordinates in the composition of the made dishes, the nimble "turnbroaches" attending to the great joints revolving on the spits before huge fires, the bakers running with pasties to the oven, and the valets of the kitchen collecting the various articles required for the service of the meal, while fryingpans, gridirons, brass pots and kettles were in active operation everywhere.

Near the kitchen was the larder, so called from the fresh provisions being preserved there in lard; the buttery from the butts there ranged, where the cider and beer and other beverages were given out to the

proper attendants; the pantry, where the bread was stored and delivered, also cheese, butter and other articles of consumption; the acatory, where fresh meat was stored; the cellar, where the wine was kept in casks; the wood-house for the fuel; the stables, where the war-horses (destriers), hunting-horses, and hacknies were maintained for the use of the court. Here the royal hunting establishment was accommodated; adjoining was the mews where the hawks for falconry were reared. The chief huntsman and the grand falconer were personages of consequence in the royal household, and generally ruled over thirty or forty subordinates.

In the royal edifices, besides the great hall, there was usually a smaller one, sometimes called the queen's hall, where Queen Philippa, surrounded by the female members of her court, received the ladies of the great barons, and other visitors. There was also her bower or sitting-room, which generally opened into a garden; it was sometimes designated an oriel, when it was an upper chamber, from the form of the casement. Through such a window the Princess of Hungary, in "the Squire of Low Degree," heard her lover, when he stood beneath her chamber, in the garden outside:—

"That lady heard his mourning all
Right under the chamber wall;
In her oriel there she was
Closed well with royal glass;
Full filled it was with imagery;
Every window by and bye,

On each side had there a gin,
Sperd [24] with many a divers pin;
Anon that lady fair and free
Undid a pin of ivory;
And wide the windows she ope set,
The sun shone at her closet.
In that arbour fair and gay
She saw where that squire lay."

In one of the Latin works of Alexander Necham there is a description of a garden and orchard, which, though written in the twelfth, is in many of its features applicable to the fourteenth century. Among fruit-trees grown in England he enumerates the St. Règle pear; among apples, he names golden pippins; he also mentions chesnuts, figs, peaches, almonds, cherries, mulberries, grapes, pomegranates, and citrons—the last two must have been rare, though mentioned by later writers. Of the cultivation of the vine, he gives little information; nevertheless, wine made from English grapes was then in much favour: and in the reign of Edward III. vineyards were numerous in this country; the one attached to Windsor Castle, under the direction of Stephen of Bordeaux, produced a large quantity of wine, and of verjuice; the latter in much request in the royal kitchen. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, several varieties of pears were cultivated in the Royal Garden at Westminster; among them the Caillon from Burgundy, the St. Règle from Touraine, and the Pessepucelle, as well as Martins, Dreyes, Sorrells, Gold-Knobs, Cheysills, and Wardons. Of apples—there

[24] Pierced.

were the costard or pearmain, the golden pippin, and several others. The garden and orchard also commonly contained quinces, medlars, peaches, cherries of at least four kinds—Flemish, Gascoyne, English, and Black; mulberry and gooseberry bushes; walnut and nut trees. Of vegetables, we meet with notices of cabbages, peas, and beans, beet-root, onions, garlic, and leek, seasoning herbs and salads. In Necham's time the flowers considered proper for a noble garden were sunflowers, poppies, the rose, lily, violet, and narcissus. The rose, it is scarcely necessary to state, was the flower of chivalry; it figures prominently in history as well as in romance, and was fated shortly afterwards to have a most unhappy prominence as a Court decoration. In the language of flowers, it was an entire alphabet in itself. King John sent a wreath to a lady at Ditton *par amours*. The gillyflower and the pimpernel were also established favourites.

Chaucer's description of the garden, in his version of "The Roman de la Rose," is so remarkable for its luxuriance, that we are afraid it could not have been realised at Shene, except in shape, though its amplifications of the original may have been suggested by what he had seen there.

> "The garden was by measuring
> Right even and square in compassing,
> It as long was as it was large,
> Of fruit had every tree his charge,
> But it were any hidous tree,
> Of which there were two or three."

The *hidous*, hideous or terrible trees, are not desig-

nated by the poet; so that whether they were unpleasant to the eye, or to the imagination, must be left to conjecture. They may have been terribly suggestive to the lovers who frequented the pleasaunce—such as yew or cypress, both subsequently named as hideous—or from bearing poisonous fruit or berries. The arboriculture of romance could scarcely have flourished in an English climate—it must have demanded southern moisture, and tropical warmth:—

"There were, and that wot I full well,
Of pomegranates a full great deal;
That is a fruit full well to like,
Namely, to folk when they been sike.[25]
And trees there were great foison;[26]
That baren nuts in her season,
Such as men nutmegs call,
The sweet of savour ben withal.
And almonds great plenty;
Figs, and many a date tree.
There were, if men had need,
Through the garden in length and brede,
There were eke wexing many a spice,
As clove gilofre, and loquorice.
Ginger and grain of Paradise,
Cannell[27] and setewale[28] of price;
And many a spice delightable,
To eaten when men rise from table."

This medley of foreign fruits and culinary spices is followed by some of the more familiar ornaments of the garden and orchard:—

[25] Sick. [26] Plenty. [27] Cinnamon.
[28] Valerian, according to Tyrrwhit's Glossary.

"And many homely trees there were,
That peaches, coins,[29] and apples bare,
Medlars, plums, pears, chesteinis[30]
Cherries, of which many one faine is,
Nuts, aleis[31] and bolas, [32]
That for to see it was solace.
With many high laurel and pine,
Was ranged clean all that garden.
With cypress and with olives,
Of which that nigh no plenty here is."

Then follow trees that belong rather to the park or pleasure-grounds:—

"There were elms great and strong,
Maples, ash, oak, aspen, planes long,
Fine yew, poplar and linden fair,
And other trees full many a pair."

We are next informed how they were planted:—

"These trees were set, that I devise
One from another in a size,
Five fathom or six. I trow so,
For they were high and great also.
And for to keep out well the sun
The crops were so thick yrun
That every branch in other knit
And full of green leaves sit,
That sun might there none descend,
Lest the tender grasses shend."[33]

These were evidently ornaments of the more open grounds, for

"There might men roes and does y see,
And of squirrels full great plenty,

[29] Quinces. [30] Chestnuts. [31] The lote tree—Tyrrwhitt.
[32] Bullace. [33] Ruin.

From bough to bough always leaping:
Conies there were also playing.
That comen out of her clapers,[34]
Of sundry colours and manners,
And maden many a tourneying,
Upon the fresh grass springing."

An addition to the garden has now to be described, which must have contributed greatly to its proper cultivation :—

"In places saw I wells there,
In which there no frogs were,
And fair in shadow was every well;
And I no can the number tell,
Of streams small, that by device,
Mirth had done come through condise,[35]
Of which the water in running
Can make a noise full liking."

This pleasant plash and trickling were appreciated—even when produced by such rude hydraulic machines as in the middle-ages were styled fountains—whilst their neighbourhood affected the vegetation in the most agreeable manner :—

"There sprung the violet all new,
And fresh perriwinkles rich of hue,
And flowers yellow, white and red,
Such plenty grew there never in mead.
Full gay was all the ground and quaint,
And powdered as men had it paint,
With many a fresh and sundry flower,
That casten up full good savour."

The poet could not have given a more charming picture had he survived to have drawn it from the

[34] Burrows. [35] Conduits.

floral elaboration now existing in perfection at Kew. It runs thus in the original:—

"Violette y fut moult belle,
Et parveuche fresche et nouvelle,
Flours y out blauches et vermeilles,
De jaunez en y out merveilles.
Trop estoit cette terre comte,
Quel estoit piolete et painte,
De flours de divertes couleurs,
Donc moult estoit bonne les odors."

His description of the crystal well of Narcissus is only exceeded in picturesque beauty by his burst of admiration for roses and rose-buds or, "knoppes," as he styles the latter. He acknowledges that he likes to gather a blown flower, to bear in his hand and smell as he walks along, though it will fade in a day or two; but the bud he prefers, because it will last at least three days. He adds:—

"Might I a garland of them getten,
For no riches I would it letten."

He now gathers a rose-bud, which he thus describes—

"The stalk as was rishe right,[36]
And thereon stood the knoppe upright;
That it no bowed upon no side,
The sweet smell sprung so wide,
That it died all the place about."

The consequences that followed this appropriation are then graphically related.

Near the pleasure-garden of the King's Manor-

[36] As a rush upright.

house was the kitchen garden, whence came the vegetables required for culinary purposes. The list was limited, and those in most constant use were peas, beans, colewort, onions, leeks, and savory herbs; the fields and woods around supplying other plants used by the cooks of those days, such as saffron, sorrel, &c.

Also adjoining the pleasure-garden was the orchard —a favorite resort for the court ladies and gallants in the fruit season, according to the testimony of various romance writers and poets. Hence came the supply of apples, pears, cherries, quinces, and other English fruit, which produced the cider and perry that helped to wash down the banquet—and the tarts, preserves, and dessert, that formed, with the majority, the pleasantest part of the meal; not forgetting the celebrated "Warden pie," made of pears called after the village where they had first been cultivated.

Gardens and orchards figure prominently in the description of domestic life to be found in the Court literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We add one more example: In the palace of the Duke of Lombardy, as described in the romance of "Amys and Amylion," the duchess directs her daughter Belisante to seek out-of-door recreation:—

"She said, 'Daughter, for love, mine,
Will we wend into the gardyne
This ilka summer's day,
There we may hear the fowles' song,
For joy, and much mirthes among;
Thy care shall all away.'

Up rose that bird, bright,
Into the garden she went right,
With maiden's hend [courteous] and free;
That summer's day was fair and bright,
The sun shone through leme [flame] of light,
Merry it was to see.

There heard they fowles great and small,
The notes of the nightingale,
Merry singing on tree,
But her was so hard y-wrought,
On love-longing was all her thought,
Neither on game nor glee.

Thus the maiden in that tide,
Walked under the orchard side,
To slack her of her care;
When she saw Sir Amys beside,
Under a bough began abide,
To hear mirths mare."

According to the fashionable romances, it was by no means an unusual thing for a Court lady to entertain her lover in her own chamber. For instance, in "Sir Bevis of Hampton" the fair Josyan invites the hated Sir Mile, after their marriage;—

"There lacked nothing, verily,
Of rich meats and minstrelsy;
When it drew towards night,
A rich supper there was dight:
And after that, verament,
The Knight and she to chamber went."

Sir Mile, however, paid dear for that honour; the lady behaved differently to Sir Bevis:—

"Then was Josyan right glad:—
And to her chamber she him had;
She set him soft upon a bed,
Boards were laid and cloths spread;
When she had unarmed Bevis,
To the board she him led y-wis.
And made him well at ease, and fine,
With rich meat and noble wine."

Royal hunting or hawking parties, even in Anglo-Saxon times, were stately pageants; and under the auspices of such a lover of field sports as was Edward III., were conducted with more than usual ceremony. The opening of the romance of "Sir Ferumbras," which represents the Sultan of Babylon enjoying a day's sport, may be quoted as a picture of the manner in which great potentates, in the middle-ages, chose thus to divert themselves:—

"It befell between March and May,
When kind corage beginneth to prick,
When frith and field waxen gay,
And every wight desireth her like,
When lovers sleepen with open eye,
As nightingales on green tree,
And sore desire that they could fly,
That they mighten with their love be.
This worthy Soudan, in this season,
Shope him to greenwood to gone,
To chace the boar, or the venison,
The wolf, or the bear, or the bawson, [badger],
He rode though upon a forest strand,
With great rout and royalty,
The fairest that was in all that land,
With alauntes, lymeres, and racches[37] free."

[37] Mastiffs, bloodhounds, and greyhounds.

The education of a cavalier is sketched in the Life of Ipomydon, when the young Prince is placed for his education under a distinguished king:—

"Tholomew, a clerk, he took,
That taught the child upon the book
Both to sing and to read:
And often he taught him other deed,

* * * * * *

Both of hounds and of hawk's game,
After he taught him all and same,
In sea, in field, and eke in rivere,
In wood to chase the wild deer,
And in the field, to ride a steed,
That all men had joy of his deed."

Skill in hunting was regarded as an infallible sign of noble birth. Prince Ipomydon betrayed himself to the Princess of Calabria by this accomplishment:—

"Ipomydon, with his houndes two,
Drew down both buck and doe;
More he took with houndes three
Than all that other companie.
Their squires undid her deer,
Each man in his own manere.
Ipomydon a deer yed unto;
Full cunningly gan he it undo,
So fair that venison he gan to dight,
That both him beheld squire and knight.
The lady looked out from her pavilion,
And saw him dight the venison,
Thereto she had great dainty,
And so had all that did him see;

She saw all that he down drew,
Of hunting she wist he couth enow,
And thought in her heart than
That he was come of gentil man."

So Chaucer makes Love assure the gallant in his translation of the "Romance of the Rose" :—

"For if that thou good rider be,
Prick gladly that men may see."

The game of chess was in great favour with the heroes of romance. Sir Guy of Warwick played with the false Sir Morgadour in the apartments of the Princess Loret, and the former is of course the victor. In the same romance, Fabour, the son of Sir Triamour, is invited to play a game with the son of the Soudan (Sultan) of Persia. The latter, getting check-mated, rises in a rage, and assaults his opponent with the board, which is presently seized by Fabour, who deals with it a death-blow to the irascible Prince. In the romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," the royal champion is represented playing with the Earl of Warwick when the news arrived of the insult offered to his ambassadors by the Emperor of Cyprus. In "Sir Ferumbras," the Soudan enquiring of Duke Naymes the amusements at the Court of Charlemagne, between the meals, is told :—

"Sir, some men joust with spear and shield,
And some men carol and sing good song:
Some shoot with darts in the field,
And some playen at chess among."

Again, in the very romantic Life of Ipomydon,

after the Prince's marriage with the Princess of Calabria—

> "When they had dined as I now say,
> Lords and ladies yede to play—
> Some to tables, some to chess,
> With other games more and less."

In an illumination in the "Roman d'Alexandre," the King and Queen are represented sitting in regal state in a garden, playing at this game, while the gardener is pruning a tree, and taking a peep at the royal players.

Besides the Public Records and cotemporary chroniclers, there are two sources of information respecting the domestic customs of royalty and the nobility of the time—illuminated MSS. and romances produced in England and France in the fourteenth and following centuries. It is well known that the painters of almost all epochs have conceived their subjects after the prevailing fashion of their several countries; their representations of the Virgin Mary, for instance, are portraits of Greek, Spanish, Flemish, or Dutch women—not of a Jewess. So the illuminator and romancist, whether he affected to pourtray classic or Moorish times, scenes, and personages—a remote antiquity or a foreign people—drew his own countrymen, country, and costume. The artist painted what he had seen; therefore, notwithstanding gross anachronisms and defective perspective, he is a trustworthy authority as an illustrator of particular objects. Several MSS. have thus been rendered invaluable, for

possessing pictures of social usages not to be found elsewhere. Among these must be noticed an illuminated Psalter, painted for the Luttrel family which contains several very curious delineations of English domestic life in the fourteenth century. The illuminated romance on the life of Alexander the Great, preserved in the Bodleian library, is another source for pictorial representations of royal and noble personages in their habits as they lived about the same time. In the romance of "St. Graal and Lancelot," in the British Museum, a king is represented seated on a chair of state, in his robes, and with a crown on his head, surrounded by his counsellors, arguing with Joseph of Arimathea.[38] A king and queen playing at chess, with other figures, are represented in a copy of the romance of "Meliadus," also in the national collection.[39] A royal party engaged at cards is the subject of an illustration in the same volume.

Similar pictures may be met with in other MSS. Verbal descriptions, though in works of fiction, are not less trustworthy; even the most extravagant may be referred to with confidence, when allowance is made for palpable exaggerations; and of all contemporary poets, Chaucer is most to be relied upon, owing to the advantages he enjoyed during much of the reign of Edward III., the whole of that of Richard II., and in the early part of that of Henry IV.

[38] MS. Reg. 14, Ed. III. This MS. contains the autographs of Elizabeth Woodville and the Princess Cicely, wife and daughter of Edward IV., to whom it must have been transmitted.

[39] MS. Add., 12,228.

CHAPTER III.

Royalty in the Fourteenth Century—Court Manners—Armour and Tournaments—Fashionable Costume—The Banquet—Cookery—After-Dinner Entertainments.

THE Chesterfieldian directions respecting apparel and behaviour which Love gives to gallants in Chaucer's translation of the "Roman de la Rose," may be regarded as an authentic interpretation of the oracle of Fashion, as it was expressed in the fourteenth century:—

"And he that loveth truly,
Should him contain jollily,
Without pride in sundry wise,
And him disguise in quaintise;
For quaint array, without dread,
Is nothing proud who taketh heed,
For fresh array, as men may see,
Without pride may often be."

The boy-god then issues these instructions:—

"Maintain thyself after thy rent
Of robe and eke of garment,
For many sith fair clothing,
A man amendeth in much thing,
And look alway that they be shape,
What garment that thou shalt make,
Of him that can best do
Of all that pertaineth thereto,
Points and sleeves be well sittand,
Right and straight on the hand,
Of shoon and boots new and fair,
Look at the least you have a pair,
And that they sit so fetously,
That these rude may utterly
Marvel sith that they sit so plain,
How they come on or off again.
Wear straight gloves with aumere
Of silk, and alway with good cheer.
Thou give, if thou have riches,
And, if thou have nought, spend the less;
Always be merry, if thou may,
But waste not thy goods alway;
Have hat of flowers fresh as May,
Chaplet of roses of Whitsunday;
For such array it costeth but lite.
Thine hands wash, thy teeth make white,
And let no filth upon thee be,
Thy nails black, if thou mayst see,
Void it always deliverly.
And comb thine head right jollily;
Farce not thy visage in no wise,
For that of love is not th' emprise;
For love doth haten, as I find,
A beauty that cometh not of kind."

In the fourteenth century, personal decoration, both civil and military, had arrived at an extraordinary

degree of extravagance, particularly during the reign of Edward III., when the revival of a national artistic taste influenced costume in a remarkable manner. The illuminated MSS. of this period abound with illustrations of the prevailing fashion ; there are, too, some good examples in the monumental effigies that have been preserved to our own times, or of which faithful delineations exist. The romances, *fabliaux*, and lays of the time, also contain numerous descriptions that are equally trustworthy. The courtiers made a brilliant appearance ; whether in martial array they assisted at the grand military exercises and pageants, in which their heroic sovereign and his accomplished sons were sure to be amongst the principal actors—or joined in the more peaceful sports and pleasures, in which the nobles and beauties of the land were certain to appear in their finest apparel.

The great occasions for display were the tournaments, of which Chaucer, in "The Knight's Tale," has produced an elaborate picture, which, with the omissions of the anachronisms affecting the time and locality selected, and certain exaggerations, would do very well as a description of one given under the auspices of Edward III. The structure raised for the accommodation of the spectators appears to have been erected with pretensions both to taste and to luxury—the architect and the artist rivalling each other in exhibiting the resources of their genius. As for combatants and non-combatants, it is difficult to say which took the most pains to do honour to the

occasion. The preparations that ushered in the ceremony are thus described:—

"And on the morrow, when the day gan spring,
Of horse, and harness, noise, and clattering,
There was in the hostelries all about;
And to the palace rode there many a rout
Of lords upon steeds and palfreys.
There mayst thou see devising of harness
So uncouth, and so rich wrought and well,
Of goldsmithry, of broidery, and of steel,
The shields bright, testers and trappures,
Gold-beaten helms, hauberks, and cote armures,
Lords in paramentes on their coursers,
Knights of retinue, and eke squires,
Arranging the spears, and helms buckling,
Girding of shields, with layneres lacing,
There as need is, they were nothing idle;
There foaming steeds, on the golden bridle
Gnawing, and fast the armourers also,
With file and hammer pricking to and fro;
Yeomen on foot, and knaves many a one,
With short staves as thick as they may gone;
Pipes, trumps, nakers, and clarionnes,
That in the battle blew bloody sownes." [40]

When all the company had taken their places, the spectators in their seats according to their quality, and the knights, their attendants, and the officers who directed the ceremonies, were at their appointed posts, with a grand flourish from the wind instruments the principal performers in the day's pageant came into the arena in full armour, on handsomely caparisoned steeds, and rode round beneath the balconies or pavilions in which the Queen, the Princesses, and the

[40] Canterbury Tales.

ladies of the Court were assembled, making the customary acknowledgments of their presence.

The preliminary proceedings have often been described, and the numerous works on arms and armour that have been published must have rendered most readers familiar with some of the features of these chivalrous contests; but it is not easy to realise the magnificence of the pavilions, and the picturesque grandeur of the entire scene. The suits of armour, though generally of one fashion, were variously ornamented, and gave extraordinary brilliance to the general effect, by the embroidery, jewels, and bright colours of the cognizances, coat-armour, and mantles which distinguished the principal combatants. In a romance of this period, we find the following description:—

"Then the knight in his colours was armed full clean,
With a crest comely, was bright to behold,
His brene and his basuet was busket full bene,
With a bordure about, all of brent gold;
His mails were milk-white, enclawet full clene.

His steed trapped with the same, as true men me told,
With a shield on his shoulder, of silver so shene,
With boar-heads of black, and brows full bold,
His steed with sandelle of Trise was trapped to the heel;
Upon his cheveron he forn
Stood, like an unicorn,
As sharp as a thorn,
An anclas of steel.

"In steel was he closed that rode on the steed,
With his stars of gold, stanseld on stray,
His gloves and his gambeson glowed as the glede,
Arrayed o'er with ribbons richest of ray;

With his shene shin-bands sharpest in shreds,
His polans with his pelidoddes were poudert to pay." [41]

We are here informed that Sir Galron, an ordinary knight of the time, wore his sur-coat embroidered with stars far apart, and emblazoned with his armorial bearings; his well-fitting coat of mail was of steel polished to a silvery brightness ; while on his head was a tilting helmet, with a gold circlet. His charger was almost enveloped with housings of oriental silk, powdered with stars, and a pointed weapon projected from his head. His own leggings and gauntlets were covered with spots as bright as flame, and other portions of his armour were as richly ornamented.[42] From this specimen the luxury exhibited in the armour of the King, Princes, and wealthy nobles may be imagined. Indeed there was no limit to expense, and the resources of the embroiderer and the armourer were taxed to the utmost to satisfy the taste of their customers. The spectacle of a cavalcade thus attired riding from the King's Manor-house at Shene to the lists, must have been very imposing; and when we call to mind the names of those who, we may be sure, found a place there—names that have been immortalised by Froissart—it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the

[41] Adventures of Arthur at the Tawewathelan. Published for the Camden Society.

[42] Good examples of the armour of the time may be seen in the effigy of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, and in that of Sir Thomas Cawne in Ightham Church, Kent. Excellent engravings of these and many others, illustrate "Stothard's Monumental Effigies," "Waller's Monumental Brasses," and similar publications.

interest with which such exercises must have been witnessed.

In another of his picturesque descriptions, Chaucer gives a pleasing portrait of a knight as he rode forth— with long yellow hair and beard, shoes of Cordova leather, in leggings of Bruges cloth, and with a robe of oriental silk, that cost many a Genoese coin.

"His hair, his beard was like saffroun,
That to his girdle caught adown,
His shoon of cordovane;
Of Brugges were his hosen brown,
His robe was of siclatoun,
That cost many a jane."

Next comes an enumeration of his principal accomplishments: —

"He could hunt at wild deer,
And ride on hawking for the rivere,
With gray goshauk or hounde
Thereto he was a good archere,
Of wrestling was none his peer,
Where any ram shall stonde.[43]

Further on we are told that he was a knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, who, when he died, was sure to be mourned by many a loving maid, for he was chaste, and as sweet as the flower of the brambleberry.

"Full many maid bright in bower,
They mourn for him, *par amour*,
When him were bet to sleep;
But he was chaste and no lecchour,
And swete as is the brembre flour,
That beareth the red heap."

[43] The ram was usually the prize of the successful wrestler.

Then the equestrian portrait is introduced:—

"And so it fell upon a day,
For sooth as I you tell may,
Sir Thopas would out ride;
He worth upon his steede gray,
And in his hand a launcegay,
A long sword by his side."

We must omit a long, but highly picturesque, account of the knight's ride, to come to details more to our purpose, which give the names of the principal portions of his armour, and the manner in which they were placed upon him:—

"He donned next his white leere,
Of cloth of lake white and clear,
A breech and eke a shirt;
And next his shirt an aketoun,[44]
And over that an haberjoun,[45]
For persying[46] of his heart;

And over that a fine hauberk,[47]
Was all i-wrought of Jews' work,
Full strong it was of plate;
And over that his cote armour,
As white as is a lily flour,
In which he would debate;

His shield was all of gold so red,
And therein was a boar's head,
A charbocle[48] by his side.

* * * * * *

His jambeux were of quir-boily,[49]
His sword-sheath of ivory,
His helm of latoun[50] bright;

[44] Quilted leather jacket. [45] Breast-plate. [46] Preserving.
[47] Coat of mail. [48] Carbuncle—a favourite gem.
[49] His leg-coverings were of *cuir bouilly*—boiled leather.
[50] A mixed metal.

His saddle was of rowel boon,[51]
His bridle, as the sun shone,
Or as the moon light;
His spear was of fine cypress,
That bodeth war and nothing peace,
The head full sharp i-grounde."[52]

The encounter of two knightly groups is described in one of the most spirited passages in the "Canterbury Tales":—

"In all the world, to seek up and down,
So even without variation,
There were such companies never tway;
For there was none so wise that could say
That any had of other advantage
Of worthiness, nor stature, nor of visage,
So even were they chosen for to gesse,
And in two rings fair they them dress;
And when their names read were everyone,
That in the number guile was there none,
To were the gates shut, and cried was loud,
"Do now your devoir, young knights proud!"
The heralds left them pricking up and down,
Now ring the trump loud and clarioun.
There is no more to say, but east and west
In go the spears into the rest;
In go the sharp spear into the side,
There [were] seen men who can joust and who can ride,
There shiver shafts upon shields thick,
He feeleth through the heart-spon the prick,
Up spring spears twenty foot on height;
Out go the swords as the silver bright,
The helms there to-hewen and to shred;
Out bursts the blood, with stout streams red.

[51] In the ballad of "Thomas and the Elf-Queen" this is *reuylle bone*—probably embroidered leather.

[52] "The Tale of Sir Thopas."—Wright's Chaucer.

With mighty maces the bones they to-breste,
He through the thickest of the throng gan threste,
There stumble steeds strong, and down can fall,
He rolleth under foot as doth a ball.
He foineth on his foe with a tronchoun,
And him hurtleth with his horse adown.
He through the body hurt is, and sithen take,
Maugre his heed, and brought unto the stake
As forward was, right there he must abide,
Another lad is on that other side." [53]

The company that assembled at Shene to do honour to their sovereign, therefore, made a very gay appearance. The most costly fabrics formed the material of each article of dress, which was profusely enriched with gems of gold and silver thread. Among the principal features of male costume were the hood, with pendant streamers, a close-fitting cote-hardie, or short tunic, with tight sleeves, buttoned in front, and having tippets falling from the elbow, and a costly girdle with *gipciere* (purse) and *analace* (small dagger) attached, pointed shoes and embroidered garters. The leggings, and sometimes each half of the tunic, were of different colours, in gentlemen who affected to be "the glass of fashion." Such extravagances, however, were not generally encouraged, as appears by an anecdote related in a contemporary romance. At a banquet "came in a young squire before them that sat at dinner, and salved [greeted] the company, and he was clad in a cote-hardie upon the guise of Almayne [in the German fashion), and in this wise he came further before the lords and the

[53] Wright's Chaucer—"The Knight's Tale."

ladies, and made them goodly reverence." We are further informed, that one of the principal knights present "called this young squire with his voice before all the States, and said unto him and axed him where was his fiddle or ribible, or such an instrument as belongeth to a minstrel."

"Sir," said the Squire, "I cannot meddle me of such things—it is not my craft, nor science."

"Sir," said the Knight, "I cannot trowe [believe] that ye say, for ye be counterfeit in your array, and like unto a minstrel; for I have known here before, all your ancestors, and the knights and squires of your line, which were all worthy men, but I saw never none of them that were counterfeit, nor that clothed him in such array." And then the young Squire answered the Knight, and said—

"Sir, by as much as it misliketh you, it shall be amended." And clepid a parsevaunt [called a herald] and gave him the cote-hardie." He went away, put on another gown, and presently re-appeared, to the great applause of all the company.[54]

The ladies dressed no less handsomely at the bánquet than at the tournament. The hair[55] was plaited and set with gems, or confined in a golden caul—some-

[54] "The Knight of the Tower." Printed by Caxton, 1484.

[55] "Her yellow hair was fair attired,
With rich strings of gold wired,
And wryen her abouten all,
To her gentil middle small."
Romance of King Alexander.

times a golden garland enriching the forehead. A robe of velvet or of the finest cloth sewn with pearls, trimmed with ermine, or other expensive furs, and displaying the bust, was ornamented down the front with gold buttons set with precious stones—to enumerate or count their number, the poet declares, would be quite a labour; the sleeves fell from the shoulders to the heels, and the trains swept round the wearer in a most stately fashion; rings, brooches, embroidered gloves, and shoes, completed the costume. Or, as is stated in a romance of the fourteenth century:—

"She came in a violet,
With white pearl overfret
And sapphires therein set
On every side;
All of pall work fine,
With miche and nevyn
Anerlud with ermine,
And overt for pride.

To tell her buttons was toore,
Enamelled with azure,
With topaz and treasure,
Overtrasyd that tyde:
She was receved a span,
Of any living man,
Of red gold the riban,
Gleamed her side.

Her hair was hyghted on hold,
With a coronal of gold,
Was never made upon mould,
A worthier wight.

She was freely and fair,
And well her seemed her gear,
With rich bosses a pair,
That dearly were by-dight." [56]

In a romance from which we have already quoted the belt is described as made of a white fabric with figures of birds upon it, and adorned with gold coins, while the hair is elaborately dressed with fillet, coronal, and bodkin:—

"She was the worthiest wight that any man would;
Her gown, that was glorious, was of a grass green,
Her belt was of blenket with birds full bold,
Beaten with besants, and buckled full bene;
Her hair in fine jewels was fretted and fold,
Her counter-fillet and her caul was coloured full clean,
With a crown comely, was bright to behold;
Her kerchefes were curious, with many a proud prene,
Her apparel was praised with princes of might." [57]

Prominent among the gay company was sure to be found some stately ecclesiastic—whether looking on the tournament or partaking of the feast—the richness of whose robes appeared to make him worthy of a place near the sovereign. The mitre was covered with gems, the crozier delicately carved, the collar, dalmatic, alb, gloves, and boots, stiff with embroidery. Thus appeared the archbishops and bishops; the great priors and lordly abbots were little behind them in display; and even the inferior clergy sometimes wore finery that brought upon them the satiri-

[56] "Sir Degrevant." Edited by John Orchard Halliwell, for the Camden Society.

[57] "Adventures of Arthur at the Tamewathelan."

cal remarks of contemporary poets. Chaucer and the author of "Piers Plowman" are very severe when referring to their pride and foppish appearance. The fact is, that the prevailing taste for personal decoration affected all ranks pretty equally, and the sumptuary law, enacted in the 37th year of the reign of Edward III. only partially restrained the abuse.

After the contest came that important social ceremonial—the banquet, and the full dress of host and guests was then as remarkable for splendour as at the tournament. But it must be allowed that the costume of both sexes was elegant as well as rich. The King wore a dalmatic over a tunic—both bordered, and, as well as the shoes and gloves, tastefully embroidered. According to one authority—

> "Manly in his mantle he sat at his meat,
> With pall puret in poon was proudly pight;
> Trowlt with trulufes and tranes between,
> The tassels were of topaz that was thereto tied." [58]

In modern English, his robe was of the finest cloth edged with fur, spread out like the tail of a peacock, and decorated with true lover's knots, the tassels enriched with jewels. In truth, the principal nobles and the gay gallants of the Court at Shene appear to have spent no inconsiderable share of their revenues on their persons.

Edward III. was, there is little doubt, as hospitable at Shene as he was at his other residences. As the

[58] "Adventures of Arthur at the Tamewathelan." Edited by Mr. Robson.

banquet formed the principal feature in the day's entertainment, great pains appear to have been taken to make it not only substantial, but varied. The art of cookery had, long before this period, been in great esteem at Court; and its most eminent professors had compiled a series of recipes for dishes worthy to be set before the king and powerful barons; the latter being often but little less regal than their sovereign in the magnificence of their hospitality. There is a MS. in the library of the Royal Society,[59] which, though written about the beginning of the fifteenth century, must have derived much of its information from earlier authorities on the same subject. It is the cookery-book out of which the master cooks of the Plantagenets were enabled to arrange the dinners, suppers, and grand banquets which were given to the nobility and gentry who came to Court, or belonged to the royal establishment.

The bill of fare comprised "all the delicacies of the season," though modern taste would unquestionably reject some of the items. In flesh—beef, mutton, lamb, veal, pork, bacon, and venison, hare, rabbit, squirrel, and kid; in fowl—swans, peacocks, cranes, herons, mallards, pheasants, capons, partridges, teal, goose, doves, pigeons, curlew, quail, woodcocks, snipe, and small birds; in fish—porpoise, dory, seal, congar eel, salmon, oysters, muscles, crabs, cray-fish, cod, haddock, herring, roach, tench, plaice, hake, lamprey, gurnet,

[59] Printed by the Society of Antiquaries at the end of their volume of "Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household," 4to. 1790.

sturgeon, whelks, pike, turbot, soles, carp, bream, red herring, stock-fish, ling, and sprats; in fruit—apples, pears, quinces, grapes, figs, raisins, currants, dates, and prunes; in vegetables—cabbage, beans, peas, leeks, onions, garlic, gourds, parsley, fennel, beet, rice, hyssop, sage, mint, and rosemary; in spice, pepper, ginger, cloves, mace, grains of Paradise, aniseed, and cinnamon. The cook used also almonds, eggs, saffron, verjuice, vinegar, sugar, honey, wine, olive oil, cheese, lard, brawn, fat, and gold and silver foil, and sanders, bread, milk, alkanet, and various other ingredients, to give colour, flavour, or to garnish the dishes. There were wines of various kinds—chiefly malvoisie, and muscadel, and there was a vast consumption of cider; but the principal drink at all meals was ale, of which such an enormous quantity left the royal cellars daily, as employed a large staff of domestics to draught and carry to the consumers. Preserves and confectionery formed attractive features at the banquet; and the "subtlety" was a work in which the artists of the kitchen were sure to put forth all their skill. Soups, jellies, blancmange, tarts, pears in syrup, forced meat, sauces, stews, custards, fritters, and a great number of made fishes, were brought on table, with strips of meat or pastry called *leeches*.

The service on a flesh-day is thus described:—At *the first course*, "Bucknard," which appears to have been a soup made of fowl, rabbit, or veal, stewed with ground almonds, currants, sugar, powdered ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and mace, coloured with sanders,

flavoured with minced onions, parsley, sage, and hyssop, and thickened with rice. With the Bucknard came "Browet of Almagne," which was made of rabbits and ribs of pork or kid cut in pieces, stewed with bruised almonds and spices, coloured with alkanet and saffron, and flavoured with vinegar and powdered ginger. With these dishes appeared "great flesh (a large joint) well roasted, capon and swan roasted—a shield of St. John and an angel (a subtlety) with a leech, and great baken mete," perhaps a baron or sirloin. At *the second course*, "Jusset" (elsewhere written Jussel)[60] which is described as broth of capons boiled with herbs and coloured with saffron; *for a lord*, yolks of eggs are to be stirred in—and *for commons* the yolks are to be mixed with grated bread. With this dish came "Pynemade to Potage"—of which no recipe has been preserved—pig, kid, and roasted venison, pheasant, heron, and chickens, a subtlety of St. George on horseback slaying the Dragon, a leech, samakade,[61] and baked meat. At *the third course*, cold cream and jelly, fillet of venison, roasted pigeons, egretts, partridges, rabbits, quails, pomme d'orange,[62] and a subtlety—a castle that the King

[60] A jussel of fish was made of the fry of the female pike and the liver of codling bruised together with grated bread and saffron, and fried in a pan with gravy of pike, conger, and salmon, parsley and sage; it is stirred when boiling, then cut in leeches, and served up with powdered ginger.

[61] There is no recipe for this.

[62] Forced meat made of pig's liver, bruised with pepper, cloves, cannel, saffron, currants, and made into balls with white of eggs parboiled, and roasted on a spit, covered with parsley, eggs, and flour, and coloured with saffron.

and the Queen were in to see St. George slay the Dragon; *pain puff, petty-petties, cuspis, and doucettes*—delicacies in confectionery so-called. There would, however, be no royal feast at the King's Manor-house without one dish of the highest popularity in this chivalrous age, respecting which it is expressly commanded that—"At a Feast Royal *Peacock* shall be dight in this manner:—

"Take and flee off the skin with the feathers, tail and the neck, and the head thereon; then take the skin, with all the feathers, and lay it on a table abroad (away), and strew thereon ground cinnamon; then take the peacock and roast him, and endore (decorate) him with raw yolks of eggs, and when he is roasted take him off [the spit] and let him cool awhile, and take and sew him in his skin, and gild his comb, and so serve him forth with the last course."

Precedency was not only enforced at table, but dishes were made in different ways for persons of different ranks; as may be observed in the recipe for "Browet Farsure for a mess of ten:—

"Take fresh broth of beef and red wine, and boil them together, and cast thereto cloves, mace, pines, raisins of currants (currants,) ginger minced, sage and sweet wine, and take chips of bread steeped in broth, and draw them up with red wine, and cast them into the same pot; and then take coneys (leverets) par-boiled, or else rabbits, for they are better *for a lord*, and fry them in fresh grease, and whole *for a lord:* and *for others* cut them into gobbets (pieces), and take partridges, and pull them and

crush them and fry them also, and when the coneys and partridges be half-fried, cast them into the same pot, and let them boil together. And *for a great lord* take squirrels instead of conies and dight (do) them as it is beforesaid. And when all this is boiled enough, take and put thereto a little vinegar and sanders, saffron, and powdered cannel (cinnamon) strained with wine, and give it a boil, and set it down from the fire, and cast in powdered ginger, and look that the potage be renning (boiling), then dress it, and serve it forth all whole—a coney and a partridge is a dish *for a lord*."

Some idea may be gathered of the expenditure of the royal kitchen at Shene, and of the prices of some articles of consumption, by an extract from a grocer's bill sent to John King of France, when a prisoner in England:—[63]

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
19 lbs. of loaf sugar, at	1	9	1 lb. of cloves	3	4
4 lbs. of white honey, at	0	8	1 lb. of mace	1	6
1 quartern of clean annis.	0	5	1 lb. grains of Paradise	1	8
2 lbs. of cinnamon, at	1	2	A half lb. cut ginger	0	10
3 lbs. of ginger	3	0	12 lbs. of pignons	1	2
A quarter lb. of long pepper	0	3	4lbs. of Madrian (preserve)	1	4
1 lb. of garingall	3	4	9 lbs. moist sugar	1	7

John Gosden, one of Edward III.'s cooks, received, in 1370, a grant from the King of ten pounds annually for life.[64] The varlets of the kitchen were paid sixty shillings a-year. The labourer must have been worthy of his hire, for the banquets were often on a most

[63] Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1856.

[64] Issue Roll. Exchequer, Easter, 44 Edward III.

extravagant scale. At the marriage of the King's son, Lionel, thirty courses were served. Sometimes the feasting lasted for two or three weeks, and the consumption on such occasions appears quite fabulous.

In the year 1856, his Royal Highness the Duc d'Aumale published in the Miscellany of the Philobiblon Society, a highly interesting memoir of the captivity in England of King John of France, after the victory of Poictiers, from which it appears that for a considerable period of this time he was treated with all the honours of a sovereign, and permitted, among many other indulgences, to have his own hunting parties at Windsor and elsewhere. As the King and Queen of England visited him when he took up his residence at the Savoy Palace in London, the residence of the Duke of Lancaster, and the royal captive was permitted to make several excursions into the country, there is reason to believe that he returned the visit at Shene, probably more than once. In his expenditure horses, dogs, and hawks are frequent items, which prove his fondness for field sports; and Shene possessed special attraction of this kind.

As in the suite of the French King came many persons of distinction—among whom were the princes of the blood, Philip his youngest son, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, Jacques de Bourbon, Comte de la Manche, afterwards Comte de Ponthieu, and Jean and Charles d'Artois, Comtes d'Eu and de Longueville, with Arnoual Sire d'Audenham, Marshal of France, Jean de Melan, Comte de Tancarville, Great

Chamberlain, and three other Jeans, Comtes de Sancerre, de Châtillon, and de Joigny; the royal hawking parties, including the King of England, his gallant sons, and splendid retinue, must each have formed a magnificent spectacle. The French princes did not spare expense either in their dress, their diet, or their amusements. A cordwainer's bill proves that one of them, Prince Philippe, wore a new pair of shoes every day; while quilted jackets of cloth of gold figure among numberless articles of costly apparel supplied by his tailor. Even their companion, *Maister Jehan le fol*, had his gown, hood, and tippets trimmed with expensive white fur; and the materials for a handsome chequered cote-hardie and *hoose* (loose gown) were furnished for him by the Duke of Lancaster.

Such profusion characterised the tables of the nobility and gentry, in imitation of the royal feasts, that in the preceding reign an ordinance (Close Roll, 9 Edward II.) was issued, stating "that by the outrageous and excessive multitude of meats and dishes used by the nobility in their castles, and by persons of inferior rank imitating their example, without reference to their means, many evils had been created, the health of the King's subjects had suffered, their property had been wasted, and themselves impoverished. But the King, to put a stop to such excesses, had, with the advice and consent of his Great Council, ordained—That the great men of the kingdom should have only two courses of flesh meat

served up to their tables, each consisting of two kinds of flesh meat, except prelates, earls, barons, and the great men of the land, who might have an intermeat of one kind of meat. On fish days they were to have but two courses of fish, of two kinds, with an intermeat.

The drinking of healths during the banquet was even then a time-honoured custom: and the feast was further enlivened, as we have already stated, with the performance of the minstrels in a gallery overlooking the hospitable board. Sometimes the tricks of jugglers and the feats of tumblers and dancers were brought into requisition. When host and guests had partaken sufficiently of the good things that had been set before them, the tables were cleared and put away; the royal family remained, attended by the principal officers of the court, on the raised dais, and the company were arranged so as to leave an open space between them and the court circle. Here the trouvere recited his romance, or the harper sung his ballad; sometimes a band of mummers entered performing a rude drama, or the fool came forward to raise a general laugh by uttering some quaint absurdity. In a MS. of Quintus Curtius, of the fifteenth century, in the Bodleian, there is an illumination, showing the interior of a palatial banqueting hall after the tables had been cleared. The host is seated under a canopy, on a throne or richly-carved chair, placed on a dais three steps above the floor, which is parqueted, and having on each side of him the females of his family; couples are standing about apparently resting

[65] Ryley's Placita Parliamentaria, 552.

from a dance, and a fool is making antics for the amusement of the company, of which a portion is seated, and the rest stand in the back-ground. Tapestry covers the walls, a carpet the dais; a buffet of plate is displayed on five shelves; a domestic is handing refreshments, and another is in attendance with a vessel of wine; the minstrel's gallery is in front of the dais, and through an open door is seen a picturesque landscape. This is, no doubt, a truthful post-prandiary *tableau*, such as must often have been witnessed in the King's Manor-house at Shene; for dining in hall was then customary with the sovereign, as well as among the most influential of his barons.

In the King's household, and in the domestic establishments of the great barons, a person called the "fool" had long been maintained. He wore a grotesque dress, and his duty was to divert his lord and his guests with ridiculous antics or ludicrous observations. Humour seems then to have been much appreciated, but, according to the examples that have been preserved, it was generally low and coarse. It appeared with prominence in a taste for burlesque buffoonery, in which sacred subjects and institutions were often treated with reprehensible freedom by the "lords of misrule," the "abbots of unreason," and other chartered libertines of folly, who for a time were suffered to abuse their brief authority. Many of the comic stories in circulation were not more creditable—to modern ideas they seem puerile or vulgar. As in the romances and fabliaux, gallantry is a principal ingredient in the narrative; and

wives and daughters are represented as the reverse of modest, while husbands are victims and dupes.

A humorous tale, which was a favourite at court, represents two minstrels feasting at a royal banquet. One places on the trencher of his companion all the bones he had picked, then takes an opportunity of openly complaining to the King that his neighbour had robbed him of his meat, pointing, as convincing evidence, to the double heap remaining on his plate. To this accusation his comrade answers with a charge of gormandizing, and shows the other's empty plate as proof that he had devoured both bones and meat. Another jest was in equal favour for its moral: It represented a merchant going to visit his brother, who filled the office of steward in the King's household, when the King liberally offers him a valuable farm, but the merchant declines the gift on discovering that his majesty so squandered his revenues in time of peace, that he was obliged to levy heavy contributions on his subjects when necessitated to go to war.

Edward II. possessed a fool called Robert, who no doubt had successors in the following reign. They do not appear to have worn the suit of motley, by which they were known to a later generation. The individual who held this position at court in the fourteenth century was made sufficiently ridiculous by having his hair cut in zig-zags in front and back. Ipomydon, when he desired to be so disguised—

> "A barber he called withouten more,
> And shore him both behind and before
> Quaintly indented out and in."

His dress was equally absurd. According to the romance of "King Robert of Sicily"—

> "The fool Robert with him went,
> Clothed in a foolish garment,
> With foxes' tails hanging all about."

The month of May was peculiarly a season of Royal entertainments. In the metrical romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," the poet declares :—

> "Merry is, in time of May,
> When fowls sing in her lay:
> Flowers on apple trees and perry,
> Small fowls sing merry;
> Ladies strew her bowers
> With red roses and lilly flowers;
> Great joy is in frith and lake,
> Beast and bird plays with his mate.
> The damsels lead dance,
> Knights play with shield and lance;
> In jousts and tournaments they ride."

The creature comforts were not forgotten. Choice repasts were enjoyed—

> "Of bread and wine,
> Piment, clarry, good and fine;
> Of cranes, and swans, and venison,
> Partridges, plovers, and heron,
> Of larks and small volatile."

Chaucer is more than usually eloquent when he enters upon the same subject. Also, in the first part of the romance of "Merlin" it is said:—

> "A merry time it is in May,
> When springeth the summer's day,

And damsels carols leadeth,
On green woods fowls gredeth."

In the second canto of the second part of the same romance, the succeeding month is thus referred to :—

"Merry it is in time of June,
When fenil hangeth abroad in town,
Violet and rose flower
Woneth then in maiden's bower;
The sun is hot, the day is long;
Fowls make merry song."

In the fourth canto we learn :—

"Merry is the entry of May:
The fowls make merry play.
Maidens sing and make play,
The time is hot and long the day:
The jolif nightingale singeth;
In the green mead flowers springeth."

In the sixth :—

"Listeneth now, fell and few,
In May the sun felleth dew.
The day is merry, and draweth along,
The lark arreareth her song;
To mead goeth the damesel,
And fair flowers gadreth fele."

It is plain, therefore, that May and June were regarded at Shene as the pleasantest months in the year.

CHAPTER IV.

Wardrobe—Jewels and Plate—Furniture of the Royal Bedchambers—Fashionable Romances—Court Literature.

THE wardrobe and armoury demanded no small space in the King's Manor-house; for not only must provision be made for the Royal apparel, and for the King's armour and weapons, of which he had an extensive collection, but for his liberality, for he frequently bestowed them as rewards. The King's wardrobe was usually on the ground floor, under the solar; but there existed in the royal residences, also, the Queen's and the Princes' wardrobes, and they must have been chambers of some extent. At Clarendon and Winchester, near the middle of the thirteenth century, the Royal wardrobe was thirty feet long—a hundred years later, according to the wardrobe accounts of Edward III.,[66] increased space must have been demanded; and from this magazine was

[66] Exchequer Roll, Edward III., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas. Archæologia, xxxi.

given out, by Sir Thomas de Boddeley, the custodian, things required for the Royal family; for instance, the King's daughter, Joan, on her departure for Spain (21st Edward III.), thence received her outfit, including twenty thousand pins, a mirror, an ivory comb, brushes, and perfumes. The saddles and housings were always objects of particular consideration at Court, and their richness is frequently mentioned by the favourite romance writers. Thus, in the "Morte Arthur" Sir Launcelot led the Queen to Court:—

"Launcelot and the Queen were cledde
In robes of a rich weed,
Of samyte white, with silver shred,
Ivory saddle and white steed:
Sambues of the same thread
That wrought was in the heathen thede, [land]
Launcelot her bridle led,
In the romance, as we read.
The other knights, every one
In samyte green of heathen land,
And their kirtles, ride alone;
And each knight a green garland,
Saddles set with rich stone."

The making of the Royal bed was a Court ceremony, entrusted only to the confidential personal attendants of the King, who were obliged to follow a certain formula, from the shaking of the bed to the placing of the uppermost counterpane. There were usually two beds in the King's chamber, a large and a small one, the latter placed generally at the foot of the other, and was usually for the accommodation of a confidential attendant. The same description will apply to the

chamber of the Queen, which also contained cushions, tables and articles for the toilet of gold or silver plate. No person was admitted into the King or Queen's bed-chamber, who was not a member of the household appointed to perform personal service, when either retired to rest or rose in the morning, except members of the Royal family, or officers of state especially authorised to enter.

At a stated hour in the morning, the King was awakened and assisted to dress. When ready, an esquire on bended knee presented the basin or vessel in which his Majesty was to wash, while another poured the water from the ewer, and a third stood in readiness to present the towel. When the toilet was sufficiently advanced, the Court barber dressed the King's hair and beard. As soon as the King was dressed, he proceeded to join the Queen, Princes and Princesses, whom, attended by the principal members of the household, he accompanied to the chapel attached to the Royal Manor-house, which appears to have been fitted up with as much attempt at display as any of the state apartments. The officiating chaplains wore their richest vestments. The chamber was adorned with carving and painting, and the altar was made sumptuous with the costliest fabrics and the most beautiful vessels that the craft of the goldsmith could produce.

After the morning service, the King went to breakfast, generally joining the Queen and the members of his family in a substantial meal of meat, and bread,

washed down with ale or wine. If business of state did not call for his immediate attention, the King left the palace with a large and brilliant cavalcade, intent either upon witnessing or joining in some favourite military exercise, or of enjoying a few hours diversion in hunting or hawking. On his return, his Majesty gave audience to his ministers, which usually filled up the time till dinner. He then proceeded with his family and his usual retinue to the hall where the banquet was provided. Here he remained, unless any occupation or amusement took him again abroad, till he retired to his own chamber for the night. In the hall, sitting in state on the dais, it was customary for the King to receive all visitors of distinction, and to entertain them with banquets, accompanied by music from the minstrels in the gallery. The meal was occasionally followed by dancing, in which the ladies and nobles of the Court were expected to join, by singing songs, and virilays to the lute or ribible, or by reading lays and fabliaux. In due course supper was served, which, in the substantial character of its bill of fare, was scarcely to be distinguished from the earlier meal. Again the tables were removed, and the customary amusements renewed, till time came for a lighter repast to be served, which became known as "the void," the entrance of which was a signal for the dispersion of the party.

It was thought, however, notwithstanding the "solidarity" of the nutriment already provided, some three or four times, that nature might require refreshment

during the hours devoted to sleep; and, when the King was attended to his bed, another repast was served in his chamber, called the "all night," which usually consisted of bread and wine. It is only necessary to add, that ablutions were performed, as already described, before and after each meal. This ceremonial, at table, was confined to the members of the Royal family, and to their most distinguished guests.

The beds and bed furniture of the Royal residences were made of materials as remarkable for their variety as for their value; they were, in consequence, very desirable possessions, and figure prominently in the wills of persons of the highest rank. Those of the Royal family were among the choicest things of the kind in the country. Edward, Prince of Wales, bequeathed to his son, Richard, one that had been given him by his father, as well as two others of curious fabric, with their hangings, cushions, coverlets, sheets, and everything belonging to them.[67]

The furniture of the bedchamber of Joan, his princess, appears to have exceeded these in the variety of the fabrics employed, as may be seen by her bequests to her sons.[68]

[67] Nous donnous et devisons a n're fitz Richard, ensemble avec le lit q'nous avons de mesme la sute et tous l'apparail du dit lit, lequelle n're tres redotes seignour et pere le Roy, nous donna. *Item*, nous donnous et devisons a n're dit fitz n're lit palee de baudekyn et de camoka rouge gest tout novel, avec tout ce q'app'tient au dit lit. *Item* noz donnous et devisons a n're dit fitz n're grand lit des angeles embroudes, avec les quissins, capitz, cov'ture, lintaux et tous eut'remont l'autre app'all app'tienant au dit lit." —*Nichols' Collection of Wills*, 72.

[68] "*Item*, lego precarissimo filio meo regi supradicto lectum

Philippa, Countess of March, who died about five years after the demise of King Edward III., bequeathed to her youngest son, Edmund, afterwards Earl of March, a handsome set of bed furniture;[69] and Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare, who preceded her to the tomb about twenty-five years, left her daughter, Elizabeth Bardolph, a favourite bed, with the customary hangings, carpets, cushions and coverings.[70]

meum de velvet rubrum novum operat, in broderia cum pennis ostric argent', et cum capit leopardor, de auró cum ramis et soliis argenteis procedentibus ex utraque parte quolibet ore ipsor cum apparatu prout est in custodia custodis garderobe meo London. *Item*, lego predilecto filio meo Thome comiti Kancie unum lectum de camaca pallata in camaca rub' et radiata de auro, cum apparatu, videlicet—cum dorsor ciel integro, uno quilt quolibet operat in broderia de v hachements in compass, III curtins de Tarterea rub verberat, I transversium de syndone, I materat de sindone rub, II fustian, I canevas de carde rub, XVIII capet de tapisteria, II quissine long de camaca rub, I coopertor, de scarlet furr, de meum purat'. *Item*, lego filio meo carissimo Johanni de Holand, unum lectum de camaca rub pulverizat cum paniers, cum apparatu videlicet, I dorsor I ciel integru, I quilt quolibet operat in broderia le v compass. III curtin de syndone rub plan, I materat de sindone ex utraque parte, XII quissin, XI fustian, XXIII capit de tapisteria, I cannevas de carde blod."—*Nichols' Collection of Wills*, 78.

[69] *Item*, jeo denise Esmon mon fitz un lit de bleu taffata embroudez des asnes merchez en l'espanle ove une rose, c'est assavoir, une celure entiere, III curtynz de taffata, un quilt embroudez de mesme la seute, IIII tapets de tapiterrie, IIII tapets pendantz de worstede, un canvasse, un matrass, II fustians, un quilt poynt blank, un paire de lyncheux du drap de Reyns, un coverlet de worstede, pur mesme le lit, un covertour de bleu demy purce, un keverchief de menyver de drap de camaka plouket, un coupe et un ewer de berill garnicée d'or.—*Nichols' Collection of Wills*, 100.

[70] Ibid, 34.

The bed and bed furniture of John of Ghent appear to have been of a truly princely description, and in his will they are duly described and appropriately bestowed. Cloth of gold and ermine, and red satin embroidered with golden rays, are among the coverings. One great bed is of white and red camaca (silk), embroidered with golden trees and doves; another of cloth of gold, the field enriched with precious stones golden trees and white dogs: these are bestowed on the king, his nephew, and on his successor. Elizabeth, Duchess of Exeter, received a white bed ornamented with eagles, with curtains of white taffeta to correspond, and fourteen bed carpets. One of the most covetable bequests of this description was a bed of cloth of gold, the field partly powdered with roses and staves of gold, each compartment having two plumes of white ostrich feathers; this was bequeathed, with many other valuables, to the altar of St. Paul's, London.

A little later, Richard Fitz Alan, fourth Earl of Arundel, possessed beds and hangings that were thought worthy of a place in his last testament, as bequests to his second wife,[71] to his sons, Richard[72] and

[71] *Item*, je devise a ma treschiere compaigne Philippe le lit bleu de l'overaigne de tapiterye de mes armes, et de les armes ma dite compaigne departiz en ycelle. *Item*, un lit rouge et bleu pale, q'estoit pur la nief. *Item*, un lit noir de soy, ov tout l'apparaille de les trois lits avantditz, ensemblement ove touz les autres litz q'ele avoit de ses propres quant ele fuist mariez a moy.—*Nichols' Collection of Wills*, 128.

[72] *Item*, je devise a mon dit fitz [Richard] mon grand lit ove l'entier apparaille pur la chambre blanc et bleu, et auxi un rouge lit estandard appellé "Clove," et auxi le lit de soy ove demy ceel,

Thomas,[73] and his daughter, Margaret.[74] Eleanor Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed to her son, Humphrey, a bed of black damask, and one of baudekin on a blue ground, with their drapery, covers, carpets, several pairs of sheets, two blankets and mattresses.[75] To her daughter, Joan, three beds and a quantity of linen. One bed is described as of cloth of gold, ornamented with swans and the letter Y; another is a little bed, of white tartarian, with lions and swans. To her daughter, Isabella, she bequeaths a bed of cloth of Cyprus, with the proper accessories.

These costly pieces of furniture were sometimes combined with plate, to make up the ransom of a distinguished captive, as in the romance of "Sir Bevis of Hampton," King Inor had to pay—

> "That his ransom ben shold
> Sixty hundred pounds of gold.
> With four hundred beds of silk, each one
> With quilts of gold fair begone;
> Four hundred cups of gold fine,
> And all so many of maselyn" (brass).

The will of Edward the Black Prince also mentions sacerdotal vestments, and a few articles of gold and

embroudez ove les armes d'Aroundell et Gerreine, ove touz les apparaille des ditz litz.—*Nichols' Collection of Wills*, 130.

[73] "*Item*, mon lit bleu de soy estandard embroudez ove griffons, ove entier seele, et auxi le lit rouge et blew de satyn de dymy seele ove touz les apparailles d'icell. *Item*, a mon dit fitz un petit doser de arras embroudez dor en certeins lieux d'icell, quele Monsieur William Brian moy donna."—*Ibid.*, 132.

[74] *Item*, je devise a ma file Margaret moun lit blew qu'estoit accustume d'estre a Loundres, ove tout l'apparaill d'icell.—*Ibid.*, 133.

[75] Ibid, 180.

silver plate and jewellery; particularly a large table of gold and silver, with a piece of the true cross and other relics, enriched with precious stones, in extraordinary abundance—great rubies, sapphires, and pearls, as well as smaller ones; also a tabernacle of the Resurrection, two boxes of silver gilt enamelled, and a considerable quantity of costly church plate.

The will of Elizabeth de Burgh, grand-daughter of Edward I., shews to great advantage the resources of a lady of the Court of Edward III. She died on the 14th of November, 1360, having married three husbands, and survived them all. Her wealth in money, plate, lands, and jewellery, must have been enormous. Her name is revered by scholars as the foundress of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and antiquaries are much indebted to her for the light thrown upon the domestic history of the time by her numerous bequests. A great number of religious houses profited by her liberality; but amongst them there is no mention of Shene. Nevertheless some fragments of her wealth may have gone in this direction, if we may be permitted so to infer from the names of one or two of the recipients. Sir William de Ditton obtains one *boest* (box) of plain silver, a chalice of silver gilt, eleven cruets, one pix, a silver candlestick, and a vestment. Richard de Kingston is left a little pot of silver, a cup of jasper, and a hanaper[76] of silver plate; and Humphrey de Walden gets eleven silver chargers (dishes) and eleven enamelled plates. They appear to have been parish priests.

[76] Goblet.

The more costly donations are to Nicholas Damory —a relation of her last husband, Roger Damory, Baron of Armoy, Ireland—six chargers, twelve esqueles (porringers), one godet d'argent (silver mug and cover), and one saler d'argent (salt-cellar); to Robert Marshall, twelve porringers and eleven cruets of silver gilt; to Susan de Neketon, similar articles, together with an ornament of enamel, and her best robe; to Anne of Lexeden, twenty pounds in easterlings,[77] a chalice, a similar vessel enamelled on silver, twelve porringers, and a black robe; to Elizabeth Torell, a silver cup and cover, twelve enamelled silver basins, and her second best robe; to Margaret Banchon, four silver ewers, and her third best robe; to Colmet de Morlee and Isabel his wife, a silver cup and cover, eight large saucers, and six smaller ones—and to the said Isabel, her fourth best robe; to John of Southampton and Agnes his wife, four silver pots, a silver cup, a hanaper of alabaster, mounted with gold, and a small silver basin and porringer—and to the said Agnes, three of her five best robes, a coat, surcoat, and purple mantle; to Alison de Wodeham, six silver plates, one poudrer d'argent; and all that remained to be shared in equal division with Joan de Horselee; to Johanette Drueys, six silver plates, two porringers of silver gilt, and one of plain silver; also to the said Alison and Johanette, two robes of tartane; to Sir Johan de Lenne (a priest) one silver gilt bowl and cover chased, inside and out, one silver chalice, and one vestment for

[77] An Oriental coin.

confession of *drap de soye*, chequered with embroidery; to Sir Piers de Ereswell, one box of silver encircled with enamel, a chalice, a pair of candelabras, two basins, one holy water vessel and sprinkler, one bell, and one ornament encircled with precious stones, two antiphonics, and two grayels (music-books for the choral service), one vestment of red and blue camoka, and six of the best surplices in her chapel; to Sir Henry Motelot, six basins, one silver plate, one vestment of red camoka, and one bowl and cover mounted and encircled with silver; to Sir William de Mantonz, three silver pots, fifteen pieces of plate, and a silver scallop. Then follow several donations of money and vestments to other priests; of these Sir William de Wykkewane (Wickham) obtains two silver porringers, a pair of silver candlesticks, and a hanaper of beryl, mounted with silver gilt; while Brother John, the hermit, receives only a little silver bell, a porringer of gold, and two silver ervers (ewers). A vast number of similar gifts follow, and then a host of servants are left donations in money. Afterwards the lady devises £140 for masses for her soul, for the souls of her three husbands, and for those of all faithful attendants who have died in her service, and a hundred marks each to five men-of-arms to go to the Holy Land for the service of God and the destruction of his enemies. Then come gifts to religious houses; to the house of the Sisters Minoresses near Aldgate, in London, £20, a relic of crystal, a large silver gilt chalice, two costly cruets, a vestment of plain cloth of gold,

three ornaments enriched with numerous pearls to wear over the robes, another vestment of black cloth of gold, a bed of black tartaryn, and many pieces of tapestry; to the Abbess £20, and to each sister on the day of her interment 13*s.* 4*d.*

To Clare Hall, Cambridge, her donations include £40, a silver gilt censer, six chargers, thirty-nine saucers, one ship for alms, two chalices of silver gilt, and other costly articles for the service of the altar, two small porringers, and two cruets, and one censer (a silver ship) with several rich vestments, and rare MS. books—among the latter, a Legend, a Missal, another covered with plain leather, a Bible covered with black leather, one Hugocion (work of Hugh de Vercellis, Bishop of Ferrara, on the Decretals), a holy legend, a pair of decretals, a book of questions,[78] and thirty-two quires of a book called "The Cause of God against Pelagius," by Thomas Bradwardine. Then come gifts to a very long list of churches, monasteries, and hospitals; followed by the bequest of her estates, together with their live and dead stock, to her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Countess of Ulster; while to her daughter Elizabeth, by Roger Damory, she bequeaths a bed of green velvet covered with red stars, with coverture (counterpane) of cloth of gold, bordered with minever, a demy coverture to correspond, a blue coverchief, and another coverture of a mixed fabric. These various coverings were in use in all royal beds. To her said

[78] A favourite form of composition with religious writers of this and the following century.

daughter, the testator devised hangings of worsted work, ornamented with figures of poppinjays (parrots) with carpets, cushions, and other costly furniture. Then follow certain estates to this lady and her husband, John de Bardolphe. After which she bequeaths to their children—her grand-daughters—Isabel, a hanaper of gold plate, two large enamelled vessels, and twelve large silver saucers, her bed of oriental silk hangings, and a coverture partly of minever. To Agnes, a silver cross, two candelabras, two salt-cellars, one mug, one large porringer, a silver hanaper, a censer, a jewel representing the Annunciation, and six silver chargers, as well as a blue bed, with its furniture. After these come bequests of more manors and more stock; and then she bestows on her daughter, the Countess of Athol, two beds with their furniture, including a handsome coverture and coverchief.

Subsequently this liberal lady leaves to her lord the king, for the College of Windsor, a cup of gold, and one silver gilt, surmounted by three angels; to her lord, the Prince of Wales, a tabernacle of gold, with the image of the Virgin and two angels, a large silver gilt cross of Mary and John, two large pieces of plate, silver gilt and enamelled, and one gold ring with a ruby; to the Duke of Lancaster a little couch covered with embroidery, a cross containing a piece of the true cross, and a case of gold enamelled; to the Lady Mary St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, a little cross of gold, with a sapphire, a ring of gold with a sapphire, and another with a diamond; and to the Lady Joan de Bars,

Countess of Warrenne, an image of gold of St. John the Baptist in the Desert.

The jewels and plate of Richard, Earl of Arundel, were also of considerable value. Of these he left to his youngest daughter, Alice, who married John Charlton, Lord Powis, a little tablet of gold, enamelled in two leaves, with an image of the Incarnation of Our Lady; and to his daughter, Elizabeth, who first married William, Earl of Salisbury, and secondly, Thomas, Lord Mowbray, Earl Marshal, a jewel with lions and crowns, as well as a jewel like a rose set with pearls; to his wife he bequeathed two silver pots, each containing a pottle, two hanapers of silver gilt (he mentions one called "Bealchier"), a dozen pieces of silver and a dozen silver spoons, two silver gilt salt-cellars, and his two other best salt-cellars,—one with a cover, the other without—two candelabras for supper in winter, with the *haut pees*, and pendant escutcheons emblazoned for the same, a pair of silver gilt basins having his arms upon them, two other basins, two ewers, and a pair of basins in which he had made his ablutions, three dozen porrengers, two dozen saucers, and four chargers, all of silver, besides a certain silver ornament for her head enriched with pearls, and other attire. To his brother, Thomas Arundel, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, he bequeathed a gilt and enamelled cup, with a stag on the cover; to his sister, Joan, wife of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, a cup ornamented with hearts; to his eldest sister, Alice, married to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, another

ornamented with trefoils; to his mother-in-law, Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Norfolk, a cross of gold in a red leather case, an *Agnus Dei* of gold enamelled, a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, and a St. Francis enriched with seventeen pearls; to his niece, Eleanor, married to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, a little gold tablet with trefoils, with a crucifix and a Coronation of the Virgin. He also leaves, as heir-looms, a coronet, a Bible in two volumes, a pair of Decretals in French, and a pair of large gold Paternosters, a large gold chain, and other jewels and relics contained in a little coffer of silver, with massive gilt lions, which his honoured lord and father bequeathed to him and his heirs, Lords of Arundel, in perpetuity. Subsequently, he leaves to his dear son, De Charlton, a cup and ewer; to John Cobham another; to Thomas Ashbourne a bowl (mazer) covered with gold filagree; to Payn Tiptot a hanaper of silver gilt, and two of his best horses; to William Percy a silver hanaper and cover; and to John Cokking, Thomas Young and Thomas Harlyng, to each a hanaper.[79]

Articles of great value for the decoration of the chapel and the altar were frequently bequeathed by wealthy barons to Abbeys or religious houses, which they regarded with particular interest. A striking instance of this may be found in the will of Edmund, Earl of March, who devised to the Abbeys of Wigmore, Lesnes, Tintern, the Priories of Walsingham, Lanthony, Usk and Chertsey, and to several convents and other

[79] Nichols' Collection of Wills, 120.

religious houses, an immense amount of wealth in valuables of this description. They comprise the richest vestments and hangings, as well as jewels of great value —a crucifix of gold set with precious stones, a pillar of gold with nine pearls and a sapphire, numerous relics, a mitre enriched with pearls, and a sapphire ring, a large silver gilt cross, a large pix ornamented with lions, and images of Mary and John, two chandeliers of silver enamelled, a large silver gilt chalice, a patten in two leaves, and a silver gilt bell, a table of pieces of silver enamelled, a silver gilt censer, a holy water sprinkler of silver gilt, and two silver gilt basins. Other religious bequests contain similar articles.

To his son and heir, Roger, he left his hanaper of gold with a cover named "Benison," and his sword decorated with gold, "the gift of the good King Edward;" his large horn of gold, a hanaper with a cover, a bed of satin embroidered with white lions, with gold roses, and armorial bearings, and all the furniture of the chamber, a cup of silver gilt enamelled with children sporting, a salt cellar silver gilt, in the shape of a dog, two of his basins of silver gilt, and two of plain silver, two silver ewers, three half-gallon silver pots, six silver plates, two dozen of spoons, two gold spoons with ladies' heads, a plate of silver gilt, two dozen of silver saucers, and his best horn of gold, with the baldric. Subsequently he bequeaths to his son, Edward, two dozen of silver porringers, the same number of saucers, with two basins and two ewers of the same metal, a salt-cellar shaped like a lion, with a piece silver gilt,

two gold, and two dozen of silver spoons, and his large pieces of plate silver gilt, a large cup and ewer silver gilt, having the shape of a rose, six pieces of silver plate, two half-gallon pots of silver, as well as four hundred marks of silver, and a bed white and sandal (oriental silk), powdered with red roses, with the entire furniture. To his daughter, Elizabeth (married to Hotspur), he bequeaths a salt-cellar, shaped like a dog, and a hanaper of gold, with a chaplet of red roses to go all round the head, and two hundred large pearls. To his daughter, Phillippa (first married to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, secondly to Richard, Earl of Arundel, and thirdly to John Lord St. John) a coronet of gold, enriched with precious stones, and two hundred large pearls; also a circlet of roses, emeralds, and rubies of Alexandria in the roses, and the red bed with the parks (ove les parkes), with the red tapestry of the entire chamber, and one ewer of gold with two sapphires on the top.

He then leaves to Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, a cup and cover, with a tripod, and two lions of silver gilt enamelled; to William Courtenay, Bishop of London, a cup of beryl, with a long pix of silver gilt enamelled; to John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, a silver plate enamelled, with the arms of Mortimer, and a ring with four rubies and a diamond; to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, a hanaper of filagree on wreathed work (tortelez) with a star, and other ornaments; to Henry Percy, a little jewel bearing the head of a stag, and the head of an eagle; to

Richard Lescrop a hanaper of silver gilt; to John Lovell a cup and cover, enriched with torquoiz (*piere d'ynde*); to John of Bishopstow a ring of gold with a ruby, engraved as a signet, and a basin and ewer of silver; to Sir William Forde six porringers, and six saucers of silver, and a tablet of silver gilt enamelled, with the Purification of our Lady; to Sir Walter de Compton a basin and ewer of silver, and twenty marks; to Sir John de Briddlewood a hanaper of silver, called "Wassail;" to Pierce de la Mare six porringers, and six saucers of silver; and to Sir Hugh de Boraston a tablet with the figures of St. John and St. Katherine.

The articles of jewellery and plate belonging to John of Ghent were extremely numerous, and must have been of very great value. His will mentions an almost endless list of "ouches,"[80] gold hanapers, buckles, rings, diamonds, rubies, salt-cellars, chargers, plates, saucers, basins, ewers, pots, and porringers; nor were the vestments, chalices, crucifixes, missals, and other altar furniture, which he bestowed on various religious houses, less remarkable for their costly character. Much to his credit, he did not forget the "poor and needy, and those who had none to help them;" for among a host of bequests, he left the hermits living in London, and five leagues round, three nobles each, to each house of lepers within the same distance of the metropolis five nobles, and to the prisoners in Newgate and Ludgate, a hundred marks.

[80] Jewelled ornaments.

The will of Humphrey de Bohun "Counte de He'ford et D'Eez, and Seign'r de Breken," as he is therein styled, in the disposition of the testator's jewels, gold and silver plate, costly furniture, and apparel, wealth, and lands, affords abundant evidence of the magnificence with which the more powerful members of the Court of England loved to appear in the reign of Edward III. He bequeathed to various priories and abbeys—independently of donations to other religious fraternities, some of which he founded and enriched—vessels, vestments, missals, and other valuables of various kinds, as well as money; and to his confessor, and other ecclesiastics, numerous silver vessels and other liberal grants of money, to pray for his soul. To his nephew, Humphrey de Bohun, he left several rich ornaments set with great pearls, rubies, diamonds, and emeralds; to his niece, Elizabeth (daughter of his brother William, Earl of Northampton), afterwards Countess of Arundel, a stately bed with tapestry curtains; to Eleanor, his eldest sister, the wife of James Butler, Earl of Ormond, he gave six-and-twenty articles of plate; to Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire a valuable sapphire; and to the Countess another stately bed, a chaplet set with sapphires and pearls, and a gold basin.[81]

Manuscripts frequently appear as bequests in the fourteenth century. In the will of Eleanor Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester,[82] will be found a chronicle of

[81] Nichols' Collection of Wills, p. 44.

[82] Ibid.

France in French, with two silver clasps, enamelled with the arms of the Duke of Burgundy; a book of Giles', "*De Regimini Principum*," a book of the vices and virtues, a poem, the "History of the Knight and the Swan," all in French: a Psalter richly illuminated, having clasps of gold, and being enamelled with swans and other armorial bearings; an illuminated book of legends, a Bible in two volumes with two golden clasps, enamelled with the arms of France; a book of Decretals in French, a book of history, a book "*de vitis patrum*," the Pastorals of St. Gregory, and two Psalters, also in French. Such books, however, do not sufficiently illustrate the Court literature of the period, as it was cultivated at Shene.

It has been averred that many of the most fashionable French romances were written in England; be this as it may, it is certain that nowhere were they more generally read by persons pretending to education. It mattered little whether they had any historical basis, like "Wace's Brut," the "Sangraal," "Le Roman d'Alexandre," or the fictions founded on the adventures of Charlemagne, Arthur, and other historical worthies; or were *Fabliaux*—works more purely imaginative—or long poetical narratives, such as those collected by Marie, the Breton poetess—they were equally popular; and MS. copies—generally richly illuminated—were classed among the treasures of the wealthy.

The different romances that were founded on the adventures of King Arthur, and of the Knights of the Round Table, including the marvellous adventures of

Merlin the enchanter, were in great favour at the Court of Edward III., who did his best to maintain this phase of hero-worship by every means in his power, particularly at Windsor and Shene, where he surrounded himself with the bravest of his barons and knights, as much as possible after the fashion of his chivalrous ancestors. The fables illustrating the career of Charlemagne and his twelve peers, were almost equal objects of royal and courtly admiration. In short, the great in-door resource was reading romances of chivalry, particularly to the ladies of the Court; indeed, knight, squire, and page were expected to be familiar with the most remarkable incidents, characters, and scenes in these productions. The favour in which they were held by the educated of both sexes seems inexplicable to persons of refined, literary taste, quite as much from the coarseness and immorality of the greater number, as from their childish extravagance and exaggeration; and Chaucer, who drew largely upon the *fabliaux* fashionable in his time, is sometimes, in this respect, as objectionable as his models. They were established favourites at the Court of England and France, and several of his stories have been traced to Italian and Latin sources. "The Knight's Tale" is derived from a French version of Boccaccio's "Theseida;" but much of its chivalrous accessories must have been the result of his own observation; the "Miller's Tale" may have been a reminiscence of his student career, but is licentiously French; "The Reeve's Tale" appears in the Decamerone of the Italian novelist, but is printed by Barbazan

as "De Goubert et des deux clers." Chaucer, however, derived it from another fabliau which Mr. Wright has printed:[83] "The Man of Lawes Tale," as this careful archæologist has shown, has a French origin,[84] though the story commences in Surrey (Syria); "The Wife of Bath's Tale" also possesses a French character; "The Frere's Tale," Mr. Wright considers French; "The Clerk's Tale" was translated from a Latin romance by Petrarch, known as "De obedientia et fide uxoria Mythologia," the familiar story of Griselda; "The Marchaundes Tale" is believed to be of French origin; "The Tale of the Doctor of Physic" is that version of the classic story of Virginius, found in the "Roman de la Rose;" The Pardoners and Shipman's Tales appear to have been derived from *fabliaux*; "The Tale of Melibæus" is a literal translation from a French story; "The Monk's Tale" is derived from Boccaccio's "De Omnibus Virorum Illustrium;" "The Nonne Prestes Tale" is taken from a chapter in the "Roman de Renart," an ancient French metrical romance; and the original of the "Mauniciple's Tale" may be found in Ovid's "Metamorphoses."

The works of several writers of a preceding period had a considerable reputation at the Court of England in the fourteenth century. Benoit de St. Maur was a *trouvère*, who had enjoyed the patronage of Henry II., whom he has warmly praised in his two metrical romances. The first, founded on the history of Troy,[85]

[83] "Anecdota Literaria," p. 15.

[84] Wright's "Canterbury Tales of Chaucer."

[85] "Roman de Troye." Harleian MSS., No. 4482.

invests the events of that epoch with a purely chivalrous character—a common expedient of the *trouvères*—the other is a metrical chronicle of the Duke of Normandy, mostly paraphrased from the later works of Dudo, of St. Quentin, and William of Jumièges. Some passages are remarkable for picturesque beauty, and long retained their popularity.[86]

Another fashionable *trouvère* was Philip de Reimes, who wrote two romances. In *La Manekine*, the scene is principally laid in Scotland, though the work commences in Hungary. A passage descriptive of the attractions of the month of May—a favourite theme with all chivalrous poets—is a good specimen of his style :—

" Ce fu en la douce saison,
Que li roussignol ont raison,
De chanter pour le tans joli,
Que li pré sont vert et flouri,
Et li vergié cargié de fruit,
Que la bele rose est en bruit,
Dont les dames font les capians,
Dont li amant font leur avians ;
Que l'erbe vert est revenue,
Qui par la froidure est perdue :
Cascuns oisiaus en son latin
Cante doucement au matin,
Pour la saison qui est novele,
Toute riens adont se revele,
Que la joie maintenir doivent.
Li canel les iauwes reçoivent,

[86] " Collection de Documents, inédits sur l'Histoire de France, publiés par ordre du Roi. Chronique des Ducs de Normandie," par Benoit, &c. Paris, 1836-38-44 ; quarto, tom. iii.

Qui en yver erent esparses.
Où keurent karoler ces garçes,
Beatris, Marot, Margueçon ?
Avoec eles ont Robeçon,
Et Colinet et Jehanet ;
Pius s'en vont au bos au muget,
Capiaus font de mainte maniere,
Ançois que reviegnent arriere.
Beles sont les nuis et li jour
A ciaus qui maintienent amor." [87]

In the other romance the scene is laid in England, and narrates the loves of Blonde, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, and John afterwards Count of Dammartin —an interesting picture of Court life in England in the reign of Richard I. Both these works suggested incidents which were employed by later romancists. A *trouvère*, called William the Clerk, was favourably known by his metrical work on Natural History called the "Bestiaire." He flourished in the reign of King John, and was a native of Normandy. He describes known animals by unknown qualities, and fabulous animals by qualities equally imaginary ; moralizing, in the middle of his descriptions, on the corruption of manners and the state of the Church. He wrote another work called "Le Besant de Dieu." A coin of Byzantium gave a title to all oriental pieces of money ; but this Besant is the talent of Scripture, which the poet shews has been dreadfully abused in the persons whom God has gifted with great influence in religion

[87] "Roman de la Manekine, par Philippe de Reimes ; publié par Francesque Michel. Imprimé à Paris pour le Bannatyne Club, 1840," 4to.

and learning in the highest offices of Church and State. A third work was a romance laid in Scotland called "La Romans des Aventures Fregus." He also wrote *fabliaux*, remarkable for their licentious character.[88]

Among the Latin writers whose works were popular with educated persons was John de Hauteville, who wrote one of the precursors of the "Pilgrim's Progress," in the shape of a satirical allegorical poem, called "Architrenius," from the name of the hero. It was written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and contains curious pictures of society as it then existed in England and France. The author, though a priest, apparently attached to one of the English monasteries, does not spare his order, and pictures the gluttony and extravagance of the rich in very lively colours.[89] Another popular satire in the same language was the "Speculum Stultorum," by Nigellus Wereker, a Precentor of Canterbury, who was a cotemporary of the preceding writer. The hero of the poem is an ass named Brunellus (intended to represent the monastic orders), whose tail he is desirous of having lengthened—typifying the inordinate ambition of the clerical communities. Scholars, monks, and nuns, pass under the author's sarcastic observation, in startling pictures of their vice and folly. Brunellus, not approving of any of them, forms a religious

[88] "Le Roman des Aventures de Fregus, par Guillaume le Clerc, trouvère du treizième siècle. Par Francisque Michel, Edimbourg, imprimé pour le Club d'Abbotsford, 1841."

[89] "Biographia Britannica Literaria, by Thomas Wright, M.A., Anglo-Norman Period," 250. London, 1846.

society for himself, on easy principles as regards morality, and embodying the most agreeable rules of existing orders. After the poet has exhausted his reflections on the different classes of society, the master of Brunellus recognizes his property, which had unaccountably strayed from his possession, and the satirist and reformer is obliged to return to his original asinine condition.[90]

Perhaps the most popular author of his time was another ecclesiastical satirist, Walter Mapes, some of whose various writings, in French and Latin, in prose and poetry, were, in the succeeding century in which he flourished, and long afterwards, to be found in almost every collection of books at Shene and elsewhere. The legendary stories in "De Nugis Curialium" were rivals in public favour with his chivalrous romances, the "Roman de Lancelot du Lac," "Quète du Saint Graal," and the "Roman de la Mort Arthus," forming with the preceding "Roman de St. Graal" and "Roman de Merlin," by Helié de Borron, and the concluding "Roman de Tristan," by Borron and Luces de Gast, the complete cycle of those legendary fictions on the adventures of the British King, that have charmed many generations of courtly readers. Walter Mapes also wrote much Latin poetry of a humorous description, particularly his "Confessio Goliæ," in which the hero of the story is represented making a burlesque confession of his

[90] "Nigaldi Wiroker, Anglici Bardi, Speculum Stultorum." Parisiis, 1601.

three principal errors, arising out of his devotion to women, dice, and wine. These also long retained their hold on the favour of scholars.[91]

The long popular "Roman de la Rose" ought to be sufficiently known through Chaucer's translation.

Female accomplishments were occasionally carried to an excess that would almost satisfy feminine ambition in our own times. The ladies of the Court at Shene were expected to excel their less honourably placed sisters not only in the ordinary branches of education, including ornamental needlework and other qualifications of good housewifery, but in the abstract sciences; moreover, they were expected to possess a tolerable knowledge of medicine and surgery. The accomplishments of Felice, an earl's daughter, the heroine of the popular romance of "Guy of Warwick," are thus enumerated:—

> "Gentil she was, and as demure,
> As e'er fauk[92] or falcon to lure,
> That out of mew were y-drawe,[93]
> So fair was none, in sooth sawe,[94]
> She was thereto courteous, and free and wise,
> And in the seven arts learned without miss.[95]
> Her masters were thither come,
> Out of Thoulouse all and some;
> White and hoar all they were;
> Busy they were that maiden to lere,[96]

[91] "Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes. By Thomas Wright, M.A., Camden Society, 1841." "Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman Period," 295.

[92] A large falcon. [93] Newly taken from her roosting-place.

[94] In truthful speech. [95] Without omission.

[96] To teach—whence lore learning.

And they her lered of astronomy,
Arsmetrick,[97] and of geometry ;
Of sophistry she was also witty ;
Of rhetoric and of other clery.[98]
Learned she was in music ;
Of clergy was her none like."

The works of the Breton poets were not less popular. One of Marie's lays called "*Les deux Amants*," was held in great esteem in England, particularly among the ladies of the Court. The story is of a king of Normandy, who possessed one daughter, to whom he was so deeply attached, that, to prevent her marriage, he proclaimed his intention of bestowing her on no one who could not carry her to the top of a very high mountain which overlooked his city—an impossible feat. In due time, however, a lover appeared, who offered to go through the ordeal, possessing an elixir which he was to drink when his strength began to fail. The princess was devotedly attached to him, and more than once, while being borne in his arms up the terrible ascent, urged him to have recourse to the magic draught; but he being resolved to succeed without such assistance, staggered on under his beloved burthen till he attained the summit, when he dropped down dead. The princess on discovering the fact, with a shriek of despair, threw herself on his body, where she was found, a stiffened corpse, holding her lover locked in her arms.

Another lay scarcely less esteemed at Shene, represented a young lady as having four lovers, for whom

[97] Arithmetic. [98] Clerk-like studies.

she felt an equal attachment. They were attracted to a tournament, in which three of them were accidentally killed, and the fourth badly wounded. The survivor, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to present himself to his mistress, implored her, as he had now no competitor, to realize his happiness by becoming his wife; but she assured him that she was so overwhelmed by the loss she had incurred of three lovers of such surpassing merit, that she had resolved to dedicate her life to the composition of a lay in their honour, which she should entitle "*Les Quatre Dols*"—the four griefs. The disappointed knight offered no remonstrance; he desired only that the lay should be called "Le Chaitivel"—the wretched one—for his rivals were at peace, while he was condemned to everlasting misery. The inexorable fair one graciously altered the title as suggested, and the story ends.

The most interesting of Marie's lays relates the adventures of a Breton knight, called Elidue, who, having lost the favour of his sovereign, leaves his wife to the care of his friends, and embarks for England, where he enters the military service of one of the kings of the country whose enemies he overthrew. The king's daughter repays the obligations her father had incurred, with her whole heart. The Breton knight feels the embarrassment of his position; but conceals the fact of his being already married, and prudently returns to his own country at the first favourable opportunity, where he contrives to regain the lost confidence of his sovereign. His wife finds him changed—appar-

ently oppressed with a great grief; the fact is, he is enamoured of the English princess, and soon finds that he cannot exist without her. With a few confidential friends he embarks in a small vessel for the opposite coast, and easily induces the princess to elope with him. The vessel bearing the lovers is overtaken by so furious a storm, that one of the superstitious seamen cannot help stating aloud that the ship is doomed, because his lord had wronged his wife, by taking away from her home the fair passenger who had usurped her place in his affections. The princess is so shocked at the announcement of her lover being a married man, that she falls into a deadly swoon; the knight, in a rage, knocks the seaman overboard with an oar, then, seizing the helm, steers the vessel to a place close to his own estate, and carries the corpse of the princess to a deserted hermitage in one of his forests. He returns home, and appears to his wife more gloomy than before. She caused him to be watched, and during his absence penetrates to a secluded spot, where she discovers the dead body of a beautiful young female. Having accidentally ascertained the efficacy of a certain plant that grew in the vicinity, she applies it to the princess, who, on recovering from a long swoon, tells her sad history to her preserver. It makes so deep an impression on her mind, that she immediately enters a nunnery, that her husband might marry her beautiful rival. The knight erected an abbey on the site of the hermitage, which he richly endowed, and his devoted wife was its first abbess. He lived many years in the

greatest felicity with the English princess, who, however, eventually joined the sisterhood, while Elidue retired to end his days in a monastery, which he endowed with the remainder of his possessions.

Other lays were also in fashion at Court—short narrative poems on many subjects, but chiefly illustrating the passion of love, or the devotion of friendship. As the "Lay le Fraine," a translation from a French original, expresses it:—

> "Some be of war, and some of woe,
> And some of joy, and mirth also,
> And some of treachery, and of guile,
> Of old adventures that fell ere while;
> And some of bourdes and ribaudry;
> And many there be of fairy;
> Of all things that men seth,
> Most of love forsooth there beth."

The production from which these lines are quoted illustrates the friendship of two knights in the adventures of the daughters of their wives. The attachment of two knights forms the subject of a more modern romance, Sir Eger and Sir Graham, and affords the interest in the adventures of those friendly heroes, Amys and Amylion.

Songs were also much in request at Shene, particularly the French Chansons, that had been favourites in the chivalrous period of Richard Cœur de Lion. Maurice de Craon belonged to a family that had settled in Surrey since the Conquest, and had held there considerable estates. He was much employed by Henry II. He died in the year 1216, and some of his productions were long

afterwards sung by the ladies and gallants of the English Court; a stanza of one that was much in fashion may be acceptable:—

"Al entrant del doux termine
Del tans nouvel,
Que naist la flours en l'espine,
Et cist oisel.
Chantent parmi la gaudine,
Seri et bel,
Dont me rassant amors fine,
D'un tres doux mal,
Quas je ne pens à rienz al,
Fors là ù mes cuers s'acline." [99]

Renaud de Hoilande, also an Englishman, wrote songs that retained their popularity through many generations of singers and hearers. A specimen was lately rescued from oblivion by one of the most industrious of modern archæologists, commencing thus:—

"Si tost c'amis entant à ben amer,
Prant garde amours, si doit merchi avoir,
Qui se garde pora à celi donner
Qui servi l'a si qu'il i doit paroir,
Per çou ai-jou tel voloir,
Que je ne voel mie,
Què ma dame eust m' amie,
Esté lors que je levi,
Pour autre tour, s'estre pooit ensi." [1]

There was a choice of works of a more serious character, either for the studious or religiously inclined—these were principally in Latin or French; but there

[99] "Chansons de Maurice et le Pierr de Craon, poetès Anglo-Normands, du xii. siècle, par by G. S. Trebutien." Caen, 1843.
[1] "Anecdota Literaria." By Thomas Wright, M.A., p. 88.

were a few in the vernacular. Alexander Neckam, to whom reference has already been made, was a scholastic teacher, who, in the year 1213, was Abbot of Cirencester. He was born at St. Alban's, near the same hour that Richard Cœur de Lion came into existence at Windsor; and his mother suckled the future scholar and the future hero at the same time. He wrote a variety of grammatical, theological, and moral treatises, poems, and translations, as well as dissertations on science. One of the former, called "*De Utensilibus*,"[2] describes the various chambers in a castle, and in a house, with their furniture; and different professions and trades. Some of his poems are directed against the vices and follies of the age,[3] particularly in opposition to the monastic orders, and against the female sex. To the latter he devotes his talents to the production of a singular, though probably truthful, picture of a lady's toilette. His scientific treatises, such as his "De Naturis Rerum," are equally curious expositions of the state of knowledge at the time he wrote. Roger Bacon, who flourished in the preceding century, was also a great authority on natural philosophy. Historians were in frequent request, such as Joscelin de Brakelonde, whose Latin chronicle of the affairs of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's has been edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Rokewode, and Layamon, who translated the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, from Wace's Anglo-Norman version,

[2] MS. Cotton. Tstus, DXX.
[3] MS. Reg. 8 A, 21.

into English. Gervase of Canterbury, whose chronicles of the reigns of the kings Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I., were the favourite historical works of their immediate successors; while his "Mappa Mundi" was their chief authority on geography. Walter de Coutances, and Richard the Canon, compiled histories of the Crusades, which were also much consulted. Roger de Hovedon, John of Brompton, Radulph de Diceto, Matthew Paris, William of Newbury, and Giraldus Cambrensis, Robert of Walsingham, Sir Thomas de la More, and Thomas Haselwood, were also much esteemed as historians.

Religious writings were numerous, and devotional books usually formed a considerable portion of the library of a person of rank. Many of these were enriched with elaborate illustrations, that are still regarded as among the most remarkable works of art that have been preserved to us from the middle ages. The Missals, Hours, Psalters, and similar productions, have often been described. Prominent among religious authors was Clement, Prior of Lanthony, whose Harmony of the Gospels was long held in especial estimation, and was translated from the Latin into English towards the close of Edward III.'s reign. The author also wrote a treatise on the wings of the Cherubim, and various commentaries. Other favourite commentators were Robert, Prior of the monastery of Bridlington, Herebert of Bosham, and Gilbert Foliot. Several favourite volumes of divinity were written by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Of cotemporary writers a conspicuous place is due to the great traveller, Sir John Mandeville. Among historians must be placed Matthew of Westminster, Walter Hemingford, Ranulph Higden, Nicholas Trivet, son of the knight of that name, who was one of the judges, Robert Langland, Adam Hereford, and Richard of Chichester. Among the philosophers were John Killingworth, William Grisant, father of Pope Urban V., Dr. Walter Burley, governor of Edward the Black Prince, John Lutterel, and John of Northampton. Among scholars, John Baconthorpe, Richard Aungerville, Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancellor of England, Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Paschal, Bishop of Llandaff; and among divines, Hugh of St. Neot, Richard Stradley, Richard Comington, Thomas Wallice, Richard Rolle, Dr. John Wickliffe, John Deer, and Simon Mepham, Prebend of Chichester.

The political songs and poems of the time are curious, and some of them are particularly interesting as illustrations of social life. The object of "The Dispute between the Englishman and the Frenchman" is obvious, though written in bad Latin. "The Songs on King Edward's Wars," by Laurence Minot, are in English, and appealed probably to a less educated community, but, like most of the poems of the century, whether clerical or lay, they contain severe attacks upon the corruptions of the age:[4] a certain section of the

[4] "Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the period from the accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq."

clergy, as usual, coming in for the hardest blows. The praises of Edward the Third, during his life and at his death, are to be found in each of the languages then employed.

CHAPTER V.

Chivalrous Pageant described by Chaucer—Organization of the Royal Household—Family of Edward III.—Distinguished Members of his Court—Alice Perrers and the King—Death of Edward the Third at Shene.

CHAUCER was in the habit of drawing upon his memory for the scenery, the characters, and incidents of his narrative poems; even when the subject was taken from his reading, it was illustrated by his experience. In other instances he satisfied himself with describing what he had seen. The impression that he had been a spectator of the military pageants that were frequently produced for the entertainment of the Court to which he belonged, naturally arises from a perusal of certain passages in his works; in "The Flower and the Leaf" particularly. Here the scene described is a palace possessing a garden leading to a meadow, and it suggests the pleasure-garden and adjoining

fields of the King's Manor-house at Shene. The poet states that he arose in the "springing of the day," and, quitting his chamber, passed out before sunrise to a pleasant grove:—

> "In which were oaks great, straight as a line,
> Under the which the grass so fresh of hue
> Was newly sprung, and an eight foot or nine
> Every tree well from his fellow grew,
> With branches broad, laden with leaves new,
> That sprongen out against the sun-shene,
> Some very red, and some a glad light green."

He follows a narrow path to a pleasant arbour:—

> "That benched was, and with turfs new
> Freshly turfed, whereof the green grass,
> So small, so thick, so short, so fresh of hue,
> That most like unto green wool it was;
> The hedge also that had it in compass,
> And closed in all the green herbere,
> With sycamore was set, and eglatere."

This leafy retreat is described as a matchless work of labour, that perfectly screened from prying eyes those within it. Beyond was the cultivated land attached to the farm;—

> "The field that was on ev'ry side
> Covered with corn and grass, that out of doubt,
> Though one would seek all the world wide,
> So rich a field could not be espied,
> On no coast, as of the quantity,
> For of all good thing there was plenty."

The poet hears a contest between a goldfinch in a medlar tree, and a nightingale in a laurel. This is

interrupted by a chorus of much sweeter voices, arising from "a world of ladies," that advance from a neighbouring grove thus apparelled :—

"The surcoats white of velvet, well sitting,
They were iclad, and the seams each one
As it were [in] a manner garnishing,
Was set with emeralds one and one,
By and by; but many a rich stone
Was set on the purfles, out of doubt,
Of collars, sleeves, and trains round about.

As great pearls round and orient,
Diamonds fine, and rubies red,
And many another stone of which I went
The names now; and everich [each] on her head
A rich fret of gold, which, without dread,
Was full of stately rich stones set;
And every lady had a chaplet."

This head-dress was composed of fresh leaves of laurel, woodbine, and *agnus castus*. The fair group sung and danced as they came forward, round a lady :—

"Whose heavenly figured face,
So pleasant was, and her well-shaped person,
That of beauty, she passed them every one.
And more richly beseem, by many fold,
She was also in every manner [of] thing;
On her head, full pleasant to behold,
A crown of gold rich for any king,
A branch of *agnus castus* eke bearing
In her hand, and to my sight truly,
She lady was of the company.

And she began a roundel lustily,
That '*Suse le foyle, devers moy*,' men call,
'*Siene et mon joly couer est et endormy*;'

And then the company answered all,
With voices sweet entuned, and so small,
That methought it the sweetest melody
That ever I heard in my life, soothly."

This bevy of fair women came dancing and singing towards the poet, then sitting in the arbour, who found it impossible to give the preference to either in their accomplishments, or to say who was most "womanly" in every thing. Suddenly a clang of trumpets caused him to look towards the grove whence the ladies had come, out of which now marched a numerous armed cavalcade, all wearng oak chaplets :—

"On every trump hanging a broad banner
Of fine tartarium were full richly beat,
Every trumpet his lord's arms bare
About their necks with great pearls set,
Collars broad, for cost they would not let,
As it would seem, for their escutcheons, each one
Was set about with many a precious stone.

Their horse harness was all white also ;
And after them next, in one company,
Came kings of arms, and no mo,
In cloaks of white cloth of gold, richly ;
Chaplets of green on their heads on high,
The crowns that they on their 'scutcheons bear
Were set with pearl, rubies and sapphere."

This splendour was characteristic of knights of the highest dignity :—

"Next after them came in armour bright,
All save their heads, seemly knights nine ;
And every clasp and mail, as to my sight,
Of their harness was of red gold fine,
With cloth of gold, and furred with ermine,

Were the trappings of their steeds strong,
Wide and large that to the ground did hong.

And every boss of bridle and poitrell
That they had, was worth, as I would wene,
A thousand pounds; and on their heads well
Dressed were crowns of laurel green,
The best made that ever I had seen;
And every knight had after him riding
Three henchmen on him awaiting."

The poet continues his description of the sumptuousness of this select group; then states that they were followed by a rout of armed knights, that "bespread the large field about," all gallantly apparelled, and wearing chaplets of laurel, oak, hawthorn, and woodbine. When they arrived in the middle of the meadow, at another flourish of trumpets, they ranged themselves in two ranks, every knight turned his horse's head to an opponent, laid his spear in rest, and commenced a tournament :—

"Some brake his spear, some drew down horse and man,
About the field astray the steeds ran;
And to behold their rule and governance,
I you assure, it was a great pleasance."

The joust lasted more than an hour, and the prizes were won by those who were laurel-crowned. Afterwards, the gallant company proceeded in double file towards the ladies, each of whom took a knight by the hand, and led him under a wide-spreading tree, beneath the leafy stream; and then and there all danced and sung.

Presently another company appeared entering the field:—

"Hand in hand a knight and a lady,
The ladies all in surcoats, that richly
Purfled were with many a rich stone,
And every knight of green wore mantle on.

Enshrouded well so as the surcoats were,
And each one had a chaplet on her head,
Which did right well upon the shining hair,
Made of goodly flowers white and red;
The knights eke that they in hand led,
In suit of them wore chaplets every one,
And before them went minstrels many one.

As harps, pipes, lutes and sautry,
All in green: and on their heads, bare,
Of divers flowers made full craftily
All in a suit—goodly chaplets they were:
And so dancing into the mead, they fare,
In mid the which they found a tuft that was
All overspread with flowers in compass.

Whence they inclined every one,
With great reverence, and that full humbly,
And at the last there began anon
A lady for to sing right womanly;
A bargaret[5] in praising the Daisy:
For as me thought among her notes sweet
She said '*Si douce est la Margarite.*'"

The fierceness of the noon-tide heat, followed by a heavy hail-storm, made dreadful havoc among the flowery chaplets; and a lady attired, as their Queen, was addressed in consolatory language by the fair sovereign of the first group that had entered the meadow, and led away by the hand. This example not only was follow-

[5] *Bergeretto*—pastoral song.

ed by the ladies of her company, but the knights in green were as courteously conducted by their rivals in white to a hedge, beneath which a fire of boughs was kindled to dry their clothes; herbs were also gathered to apply with ointment to the blisters made by the sun, and salad concocted for their refreshment. The ladies mounted their palfreys and the knights their coursers, and riding by the bower, the nightingale flew to the Lady of the Leaf, and the goldfinch to the Lady of the Flower. The poet then leaves his retreat, and enquiring of one of the fair attendants the meaning of the spectacle he had witnessed, is told that the crowned lady in white is *Diana*, and her sister sovereign in green *Flora*, the knights in rich armour the *Nine Worthies*, that the bough-bearers were *Knights of the Round Table* and of *the Garter*; and lastly, she explains the moral of the Flower and the Leaf, which is this—"They that honour the flower, a thing fading with every blast, are such as look after beauty and worldly pleasure; but they that honour the leaf, which abideth with the root, notwithstanding the frosts and winter storms, are they which follow virtue and other enduring qualities, without regard of worldly respects." The lady makes haste to follow her companions, and the poet goes home to write down what he has seen.

This beautiful narrative bears about it evidence of having had its source in one of those highly picturesque entertainments in which King Edward III and Queen Philippa, their fine family and the ladies and knights of the Court, were the chief performers. The period

indicated must have been after the institution of the Order of the Garter, and the establishment at Windsor of the Knights of the Round Table. The Goddess of Flowers was most probably Queen Philippa, and the Chaste Huntress perhaps one of her unmarried daughters—the maids of honour being prominent among her suite, of whom the poet's wife was one.

Edward the Third organized the royal establishment on a scale of magnificence hitherto unknown, and in this state it must have appeared when he visited Shene. The compilers of the *Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliæ* described it as "the house of very policy, and flower of England," and state that the King was the first setter of certainties among his domestics upon a grounded rule, though his father made many good regulations, particularly one to breed oxen and sheep in his parks sufficient for the consumption of his household. "This noble Edward," it is stated "had great riches of his lords and great love of his commonalty, and among his counsellors great study how to make him rich by policy upon strangers." A MS. in the Harleian Collection[6] gives the details of the establishment of this "Prince of noble memory," as it was arranged in the eighteenth year of his reign. It consisted of two knights, forty-one clerks, ninety-one esquires, eleven men of arms, a hundred and fifty-four mounted archers, with thirteen on foot, and one surgeon,

[6] Printed by the Society of Antiquaries in "A Collection of Royal Ordinances and Regulations for the government of the Royal Household." 1790. 4to.

all classed in one department as the King's clerks, which included the comptroller of the household, cofferer, almoner, clerks of the pantry, buttery, spicery, a clerk-marshal, a physician, two clerks of the wardrobe, three of the privy seal, four others, and the receiver of the King's chamber at two shillings a day; six chaplains, three of the chapel, three clerks of the spicery, one of the kitchen, one clerk almoner, and eleven others, at twelve pence the day. The sergeants-at-arms with their retinue consisted of four standard-bearers, sixty-seven sergeants, three men-of-arms, seven mounted archers and nine on foot; the esquires of the household and their retinue of one hundred and one esquires, twenty-two men of arms, sixty mounted archers, twenty-one on foot and two *panews*; the officers and ministers of the house with their retinue were one marshal of the hall, two ushers and one of the chamber, six servers in the hall, and two herbergers,[7] one sergeant of the pantry, three in the buttery, three in the acatry, one in the chandry, one in the bake-house, one in the ewery; three porters, one in the salsery, one in the larder, three herbergers, one poultry, two *fereurs*, three master cooks, one queen's butler, two apothecaries, one tailor, two officers of the armoury, three armourers, one surveyor of the dresser, one waferer, one standard-bearer of the wardrobe, twenty-seven mounted archers,

[7] Persons who preceded the Royal establishment on its removals to arrange the lodgings. Innkeepers were also so called if they could give accommodation "to man and beast,"—they were "hostellers" if they only provided for the wants of pedestrians.

nine yeomen of the king's chamber, seventy-nine yeomen of the offices, and seventeen messengers. The minstrels consisted of five trumpets, one citoler, five pipers, one taboret, two clarions, one nakerer, one fiddler, three waits, who were attended by three mounted archers and three on foot. The artificers and workmen attached to the household comprised twenty-four masons, one hundred and thirty-eight carpenters,[8] one cooper, thirteen smiths, fifty-seven engineers, twenty-four pavilioners, *sixty mariners*, seven armourers, six artillers, and six gunners. There are to be added fifteen falconers, with three porters, sixteen hunters, three laundresses, twenty messengers, fifty sumpter men, one hundred and forty palfrey men, and the great officers of the household, which made the establishment consist of at least one thousand four hundred and eighty persons."[9]

The expenditure of the Royal establishment attracted the attention of one of the Archbishops, who declaims eloquently upon its extravagance, referring to items which, at this time, would be considered unapproach-

[8] Probably a representation of the architectural improvements that were executed at Shene under Chaucer's superintendence may be seen in an initial letter representing two masons repairing the battlements, a carpenter ascending a ladder with a board—while below another workman is busy at a bench shaping a piece of timber with a hatchet.—British Museum, M.S., Add., No. 11,843, fol. 164.

[9] In a later Ordinance, 21 Edward III., the persons who were paid wages in his household service are said to be 769, but this list omits many who formed a part of the establishment.

able economy. "And now, my Lord King," he wrote, "consider the expenses you incur yearly about one great horse, which must needs, at least, have one groom to attend, who for himself will receive $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a-day, for the horse $2d.$ for hay, and $1d.$ for straw; that is, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a-day, or $2s.$ $7\frac{1}{2}d$ a-week;" enough, the prelate assures him, to support four or five poor persons. The annual expenditure of one horse and man being $6l.$ $16s$—which is usually lost—how much, he asks, must be the cost of all the grooms and horses; and then he enquires whether it would not be better to retrench in the stable, and pay his own and his father's debts, and bestow the residue on pilgrims and the poor, and other pious uses."[10]

In consequence of this remonstrance the King, though he did not quite follow its suggestions, lessened the public burthens caused by his expenditure, by issuing stringent laws for the government of the Royal purveyors, who had committed gross abuses. The expense of the Court for diet may be judged by the computation, that a royal duke, with three hundred mounted retainers (each at $1s.$ a-day), cost the King daily $15l.$ $13s.$ 4d.; a duke with two hundred horse, $10l.$ $13s.$ $4d.$; a royal earl the same sum; an earl with one hundred horse, $5l.$ $6s.$ $8d.$; a viscount half this; a baron with thirty men, $1l.$ $14s.$; a knight with ten men, $12s.$; an esquire for the body, the same;

[10] "Speculum Regis Edwardi III." Middlehill MS., No. 4826, fol. 34. Mrs. Everett Green—"Lives of the Princesses," iii., 212.

an esquire with six men, 4*s.* 6*d.*; and a gentleman with his servant, 6*s.* The fees of banneretts, including the King's chamberlain, and steward of the household, were 80 marks yearly, with 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for robes; knights, 40, with 8 marks for robes. The treasurer, comptroller, keeper of the privy seal, the cofferer almoner, dean of the chapel, and physician, 8 marks yearly; the King's secretary, receivers of the King's chamber, clerk-marshal, clerks of the kitchen, wardrobe, privy seal, and market, chaplains, surgeon, and procurator, 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; the other clerks a trifle less; the sergeants-at-arms, and sergeants of office, the same; the esquires of the household, 2*l;* the falconers, 20*s.*; the porters, 10*s.*; the hunters, 13*s.* 4*d.* for the winter; the minstrels and waits, 20*s.* yearly; the landerers, 26*s.* 8*d.*; messengers and yeomen, 13*s.* 4*d.*; archers, sumpter, and palfrey-men, 10*s.*; and chariot-men, 26*s.* 8*d.* Of these the messengers, yeomen, archers, falconers, hunters, chariot, sumpter, and palfrey-men, were also entitled to 4*s.* 8*d.* a-year for liveries. Such members of the Royal retinue as were lodged out of the Court were allowed a daily sum in addition; grooms of the wardrobe, and Welshmen, on foot, 2*d.*; yeomen of the King's chamber, 6*d.*; esquires and sergeants-at-arms, 1*s.*; esquires of the King's chamber, 2*s.*; a knight within the realm, and clerk-marshal, 5*s.*; the steward and treasurer of the King's house, and keeper of the privy seal, 10*s.;* a baron or bannerett, or comptroller, 13*s.* 4*d.*[11]

[11] Wages in time of war appear to have been on a less liberal

Among the celebrated persons who belonged to the English Court during part of the reign of Edward III. must be placed Jean Froissart, the well-known chronicler.[12] He filled the office of secretary to the Queen, in whose train he came to this Court, and had previously been in the service of her father. But he was constantly wandering, and though he has preserved, in his pages, many brilliant notices of the wars in which

scale; for the Prince of Wales received but 20*l.* a-day; a bishop or earl but 6*s.* 8*d* ; a baron, banneretts, King's chamberlain, steward, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, 4*s.*; a knight, comptroller, cofferer, standard-bearer, clerks of the kitchen, pantry, wardrobe, and comptroller and keeper of the victuals, 2*s.*; chaplains, esquires, sergeants-at-arms, sergeant of offices, and all other clerks, marshals of the hall, ushers, sewers of the hall and chamber, sewers at dresser, harbingers, panterers, butlers, master cooks, apothecary, tailors, armourers, surgeons, minstrels, doctors or centeners, 12*d.*; archers, vintners, yeomen of offices, mounted archers, hobilers, messengers, artificers, chaplains of Welshmen, clerks, constables, pauncos, gunners, and foreign cross-bows, 6*d.*; other mounted archers, vintners of footmen, standard-bearers, sergeants and cryers of Welshmen, 4*d.* The army consisted of 32,491 of all arms; the fleet of 14,151 seamen, and 700 ships; and the Royal expenditure from the 20th of July, in the twelfth year of the King's reign, to the 25th of May in the fourteenth year, amounted to 337,104*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*

[12] "God has been so gracious to me, that I was well with all parties, and of the household of kings, more especially of King Edward, and of the noble Queen, his lady, Madame Philippa of Hainault, Queen of England, Lady of Ireland, and of Aquitaine, to whom in my youth I was secretary, and amused her with handsome ditties and madrigals of love; and through affection for the service of that noble and puissant lady to whom I belonged, all the other great lords, dukes, earls, barons, and knights, of whatever nation they might be, loved me, saw me with pleasure, and were of the greatest utility to me."

the King, his son, and his companions-in-arms were engaged, he furnishes little information respecting the Court of England in time of peace. He was in England in 1361, but was abroad at the death of Queen Philippa in 1369. He subsequently sought a patron first in the Duke of Brabant, and afterwards in the Count de Blois.[13]

If Chaucer was born in the year 1328, he must have been thirty-nine when first mentioned in the Record as "Valettus noster,"[14] in 1367. How long he had been in the King's service we have no means of ascertaining, but he must have acquitted himself well in it to deserve the reward of twenty marks a-year, which is there granted to him. In another document the recompense is thus recorded:—

"To Geoffrey Chaucer, the King's valet, to whom the lord the King, by his letters patent, lately granted twenty marks annually, to be received at the Exchequer during his life, for the good services rendered by him to the same lord the King."[15] His office, as attendant on the King's person, may have included service in the field. It was one that cadets of noble families were glad to obtain; and this naturally suggests that the poet was well-born.

It is not improbable that Chaucer belonged to the Royal household at a much earlier period; in short, that he finished his education there, and gradually rose to

[13] Froissart returned to England in the reign of Richard II.

[14] "Rymeri Fœdera."

[15] "Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, edited by Mr. Devon."

be one of the select attendants on the King's person. Whatever may have been at this time his repute as a poet, it is clear that he was regarded as a gentleman holding a good position in society, which inference is established by the fact of his having been an accepted suitor of one of the Queen's ladies, whose sister subsequently married John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, the queen's son.

A grant is recorded, also, in the 44 Edward III., seven months later, in favour of Philippa Chaucer, his wife, of an annuity of ten marks yearly for services rendered to the King. Another, seven years subsequently, gives "to Philippa Chaucer, one of the maids of honour of the chamber of Philippa, late Queen of England," by the hands of her husband, a half-yearly payment of the ten marks a-year bestowed on her by the King.

In the forty-sixth year of the King's reign, when appointed Envoy to Genoa, the poet is styled "Scutifer noster," which shows that he had been advanced to the gradation of esquire. Two years later he received a grant for life of a daily pitcher of wine, as well as one of the office of comptroller of the customs. And in the forty-ninth year of the King a wardship, that brought him 104*l.* yearly; in the next year a grant of forfeited wool, valued at 71*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* These gifts and honours indicate no small amount of Court favour.

Chaucer continued a member of the King's establishment after the Queen's death, and, we may presume, before he was sent abroad on important missions,

attended his Royal master in his visits to his summer residences at Shene. We find in his numerous works an extraordinary amount of knowledge of Court life, as he must have seen it at this period, as well as pictures of the entertainments then and there in fashion, pourtrayed with a minute fidelity we may look for in vain elsewhere. Some of these poems must then have been written, though we can meet with no trace of any Royal patronage of such productions. To this period, too, we may attribute the composition of many of his shorter amatory pieces, including the songs and virilays of which he has acknowledged that he wrote many.

The most distinguished members of the Court were the King's family,[16] who figured prominently at every ceremonial at Shene, and elsewhere. His heroic sons have had justice done them by Froissart. We need here briefly state, that among them the fifth son, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, was an accomplished Prince, highly esteemed both in the field and in the cabinet; and Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son, held the post of Constable of England in the life of his father, and obtained great celebrity as a commander. He is honour-

[16] There were born to this King and Queen eight sons and four daughters between 1330 and 1354. Of the latter, interesting biographies will be found in "The Lives of the Princesses. By Mrs. Everett Green," vol. III. Of this fine family the eldest son and daughter, and the youngest son, (Edward, Isabella and Thomas) were born at the palace of Woodstock, three children at Windsor Castle (William, Margaret and Thomas), one at the Tower and one at Hatfield, Langley, and Waltham, (Joanna, William, Edmund, and Mary) and two abroad at Antwerp and Ghent, (Lionel and John).

ably known in literature as the patron of Gower. The Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine was in constant attendance upon his father in the early part of his career, but, towards its close, increasing indisposition confined him to his palace at Kensington or town. John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, subsequently Duke of Aquitaine, had paramount authority at Court after the death of his elder brother, "the Black Prince," particularly when the King was at Shene; and being possessed of high attainments, and having great experience in state affairs, together with a well earned popularity, a better guardian of the interests of the realm, during the gradual decay of that wise and valiant sovereign, could not have been found.[17]

Sir James Lord Audley followed the King in his expedition against France with twenty men-at-arms and twenty archers, and made a second campaign in the same country, when he contributed to the crowning victory of Poictiers. Then occurred that singularly characteristic episode, in which chivalrous devotion exhibited its most attractive features.[18] Lord Audley was one of the original Knights of the Garter.[19]

[17] He died in the same year in which his nephew Richard II. expired, 1399. He was not only one of the first great names in the annals of chivalry, but was celebrated as a patron of learned men. Chaucer and Wickliffe owe much of their celebrity to his encouragement, and therefore he deserves to be regarded as one of the earliest of those truly illustrious Englishmen who fostered intellectual worth anong their countrymen.

[18] Froissart.

[19] Lord Audley survived both his Royal masters, the King and the Prince, though constantly engaged in fighting their battles; and towards the close of his gallant career, in 1386, was living at

Thomas de Beauchamp, K.G., third Earl of Warwick, held commands both at Cressy and Poictiers. In the last battle he made such use of his sword and pole-axe, that his hand became almost useless from inflammation. He subsequently made a campaign in the Holy Land against the Saracens, then returning to his native land, re-built the Castle, and made great improvements in the town of Warwick. He died of the plague at Calais in the year 1369. Another de Beauchamp, Baron Beauchamp of Bletsho, in the county of Bedford, an eminent soldier, was Chamberlain of the Royal Household. He survived till the year 1379.

Humphrey de Bohun, K.G., Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Lord High Constable, was also one of the officers of the Court. He died in 1361.[20] One of the daughters of his nephew and successor in the title, Eleanor, married Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester; the other, Mary, Henry Earl of Derby, eldest son of John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, who subsequently became King of England, by the title of Henry IV.

Robert, Baron de Bourchier, was Lord Chancellor of England; but notwithstanding this legal eminence, he

Heleigh Castle, evidently in no great state, for by his will he left to his heir only £100 in money, a dozen of silver vessels, and his armour; to his daughter Margaret by his second wife, only £10 in money, the same sum to the monks of the Abbey of Hilton to pray for his soul, and £40 to be distributed to the poor.

[20] His will, a remarkable document, shows the numerous articles of luxury a great Baron then possessed, his devotion to the Church and his liberality to his relatives, friends, and domestics.—*Nichols' Collection of Wills*, 44.

subsequently obtained high military distinction at Cressy. He died in the year 1342, and his son, Sir John, second Baron, who was one of the Knights of the Garter, was also a distinguished Commander.[21]

Guy de Brian was standard-bearer to Edward III., and having received many offices of trust for his valour, and served in several embassies, was summoned to Parliament as a Baron, and died in 1390.

Bartholomew de Burghersh, K.G., fourth Baron, was a traveller in the Holy Land and a hero at Poictiers. He died in 1369. John de Cherlton, and his son of the same Christian name, both Barons, were employed by Edward III., the first as Chief Justice in Ireland, the other as Lord Chamberlain; they distinguished themselves in the French Wars. The father died in 1353, the son in 1374. Sir William de Clinton was another distinguished member of this brilliant Court, and filled the offices of Justice of Chester, Constable of Dover, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; in the seventh year of the reign of Edward III. he was appointed Admiral of the Seas, and four years later, March 10th, 1337, created Earl of Huntingdon. He was eminent both as a soldier and as a statesman, and, having served his sovereign in each capacity, died in 1354, leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir John Fitzwilliam, of Sprotborough, the ancestor of the present Earl Fitzwilliam.

John, second Baron de Cobham, was appointed

[21] In the reign of Richard II. he was appointed Governor of Flanders. He survived till the year 1400.

Admiral of the Fleet, ninth of Edward III., and was subsequently engaged in the French Wars.[22]

Ingelram de Courcy [23] was created, by Edward III., Earl of Bedford and a Knight of the Garter; and the King further displayed the interest he took in his fortunes by numerous princely gifts, and by bestowing on him in marriage his daughter Isabella. The romance of his adventurous life has been done justice to by one of the most trustworthy of modern historians.[24]

Among ecclesiastics one of the most powerful was John, Bishop of Exeter, third Baron de Grandison, who contrived to amass much wealth by getting the savings of the clergy of his diocese bequeathed to him for charitable purposes, which he employed for his own advantage. He died in 1370.

John, second Baron de Grey, of Rotherfield, though he fell under the King's displeasure for drawing a weapon against Baron William le Zouch in the Royal

[22] After the accession of Richard II. he was twice employed as ambassador to the court of France, also to the Court of Flanders; nevertheless he was impeached by the King, and, having been found guilty, was banished to Jersey. His life terminated in 1407. His grand-daughter, Joan, married Sir John Oldcastle, Chief of the Lollards, Walpole's first noble author, he having written one or two tracts.

[23] He was not an Englishman, though his family had possessed lands in England. He was a subject of John, King of France; his mother was a daughter of Duke Leopold of Austria. His second daughter, Philippa, by the Princess Isabella, married Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard the Second.

[24] Mrs. Everett Green—"Lives of the Princesses," iii. 200.

presence, in the twenty-seventh year of the same reign was appointed Steward of the Royal Household. His career closed in 1359. Another de Grey, John, third Baron de Cadenore, K.G., like his namesake, won the King's favour by his skill in the tournament. After serving with distinction in the French Wars he went on a Pilgrimage. He survived till 1392.[25]

Fulke Fitz-Warine the second, and his son of the same name the third Baron, were distinguished Knights in the train of the King, or of the Prince, his eldest son. The first died in 1349, the last in 1373. There was also a William Fitz-Warine, known as *le Frere*, who was created a Baron in 1342; when in France fighting as a Banneret, he had one knight, eight esquires, and ten mounted archers under his command. He died in 1361. Baldwin, Baron Freville, fought under the Black Prince in Gascony, and married for his second wife a lady named Clinton, who was in attendance on Queen Philippa. He survived till the forty-ninth of Edward III. Thomas de Furnival, as well as Thomas his eldest son, second and third Barons de Furnival, were among the heroes who conquered for England the better portion of France. The younger de Furnival dying without issue in the year 1348, was succeeded in the title by his brother, who was the last of the male line, the inheritance going by his only daughter, Joan, to her husband Thomas Nevill, whose eldest daughter married that celebrated commander, Sir

[25] Henry the seventh, and last Baron de Grey of Cadnor, obtained a license from Edward IV. to practise the transmutation of metals.

John Talbot, summoned to Parliament as Lord Furnival and subsequently created Earl of Shrewsbury in the English, and Earl of Waterford and Wexford in the Irish Peerage.

The house of Courtenay for several generations was distinguished for loyalty, consistency, and valour. These virtues endeared the family to several Kings in succession, who honoured its representatives with important employments, and offices of trust and dignity. Sir Hugh was created Earl of Devon in 1335, and died two years later. His second son Hugh, (his eldest, John, being abbott of Tavistock) was among the first Knights of the Garter, at the institution of that renowned Order. This last Sir Hugh displayed such knightly accomplishments at a tournament held at Eltham by Edward III., that the King presented him with a hood of white cloth, embroidered with dancing figures and fastened with pearl buttons. His son, also a Hugh, married the daughter of the "fair maid of Kent," by her first husband, Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, but died without issue.

Hugh, second Earl of Devon, ended his career in 1377. His first and second son pre-deceased him: his third son William entered the Church, and was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Bishop of Hereford and London, and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury. His fourth son, Sir Philip,[26] was Lieutenant of Ireland, (tempus Richard II.) his fifth son Sir Piers, standard-bearer to Edward III., Constable of Windsor

[26] Ancestor of the existing family.

Castle, Governor of Calais, and Chamberlain to Richard the Second. With these sons Lord Devon had four daughters, who married into knights' families.[27]

Edward, first Baron de Spencer, was one of the heroes of Poictiers, and a Knight of the Garter. He was succeeded in 1375 by his son, Thomas, afterwards Earl of Gloucester, who, according to a petition presented to Richard II., possessed fifty-nine lordships, 1000 oxen and steers, 1200 cows and calves, 28,000 sheep, 40 mares with colts, 160 horses, 2000 hogs, 3000 bullocks, 600 bacons; he had 80 carcases of beef and 600 of mutton in his larder; 10 tuns of cider and 40 tuns of wine in his cellars—with plate, jewels, armour and money to the value of upwards of £10,000, besides 30 sacks of wool, and a library of books. It is not surprising that a Baron evidently so prosperous should make an exalted marriage. He wedded Constance, daughter of Edward, fifth son of Edward III.[28]

[27] Edward, the third Earl of Devon, the eldest son of Hugh, the second Earl's second son, Edward, was Admiral of the King's Fleet and Earl-Marshal to Richard the Second. His eldest son, Edward, and his second son, Hugh, in succession also held the command of the Fleet, as naval officers of experience and daring. The first pre-deceased his father: and his brother, in 1419, succeeded to the title as fourth Earl. He died in the year 1422. His immediate successors were supporters of the Royal family of Lancaster, for which two were beheaded and one died in battle.

[28] Nothing, however, could have been more vain than these evidences of substantial greatness. His fidelity to Richard II. brought him into such odium with his successor and the nation, that having been condemned by Parliament, he was seized at Bristol when attempting to fly the country, dragged to the market place by the people of the town, and there beheaded in the year 1400.

Richard Fitz-Alen, K.G., ninth Earl of Arundel, was a great warrior and diplomatist. His eldest son Richard, like his father, a Knight of the Garter and Admiral of the Western Seas, proved himself the most successful naval commander of his time.[29]

Sir John Baron D'Arcy was Justice of Ireland, Governor of the Tower, and Steward of the Royal Household. He was employed as ambassador to the Courts of France, and of Scotland, and won military distinction in both these countries, as well as in Ireland. He died 30th of May, 1347, and was succeeded in his honours by his eldest son, Sir John the second Baron, who had shared with him in the glories of Cressy. He also was Constable of the Tower, and survived his father nine years.[30]

John Hastings, second Earl of Pembroke, married the King's fourth daughter, Margaret; but though in

[29] Nevertheless he was one of those eminent men whom Richard the Second mercilessly punished for having opposed his minions; he was beheaded at Cheapside in the fifteenth year of his reign. The ninth Earl of Arundel died in the year 1375: his second son Thomas became successive Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of York and Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor of England. He also was impeached by the young king, who banished him the kingdom, but was restored to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury by his successor, and survived till 30th of October, 1413.

[30] Of his two sons the eldest, John, died before the attainment of his majority; and the younger, Philip, fourth Baron D'Arcy, was a celebrated commander in the French wars, in the reign of Richard II., by whom he was appointed Admiral of the Fleet north of the Thames. He died on the 25th of April 1398, and in his grandson, Philip, the sixth Baron, terminated that branch of the D'Arcys.

high repute as a military and naval commander, he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, when they destroyed a squadron under his command at Rochelle. He died after four years of captivity, on his journey home, in the year 1375, leaving an only son, who did not live to attain his majority, being accidentally killed in a tournament at Woodstock, 1389.

The office of Lord Chamberlain had been hereditary in the family of De Vere since the reign of Henry the First, who had conferred it on Almeric, the father of Aubrey, first Earl of Oxford. In the reign of Edward III. it was filled by John the seventh Earl, who was eighth Lord Chamberlain in succession. He was a gallant knight, conspicuous in the many battles that were fought abroad, including Cressy and Poictiers—and at last succumbed to fatigue before the walls of Rheims. He held estates in ten counties, and was one of the most powerful Barons of his time. His son, Sir Thomas, also filled the honourable office of Lord Chamberlain, and died in the same reign.

Sir Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent, K.G., was another of the gallant band who won renown in the French Wars under Edward III., and the Prince of Wales. The King lavished on him the highest honours, and appointed him Lieutenant and Captain-General in France and Normandy. He married the celebrated beauty of the Court, Joan, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, the King's second son, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. He died in 1360, and his

widow afterwards married her cousin, "the Black Prince," by whom she had Richard II.[31]

The third son of "the Fair Maid of Kent" by her first husband, John, was also a Knight of great eminence during the reign of Edward III., and his grandson Richard the Second. He accompanied the latter into Scotland, and went with John of Ghent in his expedition into Spain. He was created Earl of Huntingdon by his half-brother Richard, and subsequently Duke of Exeter, and appointed by him Justice

[31] Her eldest son by her first husband accompanied his step-father into Spain, and, after the accession of Richard II., was appointed Marshal of England, and soon afterwards Governor of Carisbrook Castle. Dying in 1397, his eldest son, Thomas, succeeded him as third Earl of Kent, and was created, by Richard, Duke of Surrey; but these favours cost him his life. After the revolution that displaced his kinsman from the throne, he was taken prisoner and beheaded by the inhabitants of Cirencester. His head was sent to London, and for some time ornamented the bridge. His next brother, Edmund, was taken into favour by Henry IV., who appointed him Lord Admiral of England. He was shot in the head by an arrow, on the 15th of September, 1407, while besieging a castle in Brittany. Besides these sons, the second Earl of Kent had six daughters, five of whom made excellent marriages. Alianore had two husbands, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and Edward Chorlton, Lord Powis; Margaret the same number: John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, and Thomas, Duke of Clarence, son of Henry IV. Joan, three, Edward, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III., William, Lord Willoughby, and Sir Henry de Bromplete. Eleanor married Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; Elizabeth, Sir John Nevill; and Bridget became a nun at Barking. All must have figured prominently at the Court when at Shene.

of Chester, Admiral of the King's Fleet Westwards, and Great Chamberlain of England.[32]

William, fourth Baron Latimer, was one of the most successful military leaders of the martial age in which he flourished. Edward III. gave him many important commands, and appointed him Steward of the Household.[33]

One of the Surrey families that rose to eminence in this reign was that of Cobham, of Stenborough Castle, Lingfield. The first baron, Henry de Cobbeham,[34] a

[32] He held also other important offices. Though he married the sister of Henry IV., he plotted against him, was seized when supping at a house on the coast of Essex, after having been driven on shore by a storm, when trying to escape beyond sea, and was beheaded by the populace, in the year 1400. He left three sons, and one daughter, by Elizabeth, his wife; the eldest, Richard, died unmarried. His next brother, John, was a distinguished member of the Court of Henry V. The third was Sir Edward Holland. The first husband of his daughter, Constance, was Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; her second, John, Lord Grey of Ruthven.

[33] Though he had excited the animosity of the Commons towards the close of the reign of that illustrious sovereign, he became a member of the Privy Council of his successor, and a knight of the Garter. Soon after the accession of the young King, he accepted a command in France, where apparently he died, leaving an only daughter, Elizabeth, (by Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund, Earl of Arundel) who became the second wife of John, Lord Nevill of Raby, and afterwards married Robert, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, ancestor of the present family. Her son, John Nevill, in her right, was summoned to Parliament as Baron Latimer.

[34] He was the eldest son of John de Cobbeham, one of the Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and a Baron of the Exchequer, in the reign of Henry III., and Edward I.—*Burke's Extinct Peerage.*

Knight of the Garter, and one of the heroes of Cressy and Poictiers, died in the year 1339. The will of his widow, Jane, with the date of 1368, is preserved in the Archbishop of Canterbury's registry, Lambeth Palace; it contains many bequests of valued articles of furniture, beds, illuminated MSS., plate, jewels, and a drinking-horn of a griffin's hoof, set in silver. The original will is also extant of her eldest son, John, the second Baron, for whom the Queen had stood godmother. It is dated 1400, and is remarkable for the number of masses the testator desired for the repose of his soul, ten thousand, which were to cost his estate 30*l.*, and to be performed with all possible despatch, immediately after his decease; 100*l.* was also bequeathed for masses for his royal godmother. He desired sepulture in the church of Lingfield, behind the head of his lord and father.

In that grand illustration of the heroism of the ancient world, the "Iliad," there is nothing to be found which excels the conduct that distinguished Edward III., his gallant sons, and fearless companions-in-arms. The Homeric heroes are grand tapestry figures, but, with one or two exceptions, appear to have been created by the poet, rather to excite astonishment than sympathy. The principal characters in the "Niebelungein Lied," and, indeed, in all the heroic poems of the early and middle ages, are of the same imposing type; but have evidently as little relationship with human nature as the figures of Fuseli. What most excites our admiration in the exploits of the

English worthies of this period, is the romantic humanity by which many of them were distinguished. To Froissart, the prose Homer of the fourteenth century, we refer the reader for a hundred poems, the themes of which are the exploits of the noble personages we have been able briefly to pass in review. We, however, cannot help reminding him here of one fact, which stands prominently among the poetry of this romantic period: we, of course, allude to the youthful hero who rode by the side of his captive, the King of France, through the streets of London, when the goldsmiths hung twelve beautiful girls in cages of gold and silver filagree, to scatter flowers upon them.[35] The spirit of this illustrious Prince, like that of his father, delighted in chivalrous exercises; and while he possessed strength to wield a lance, he was sure to be the most attractive feature in the entertainment. Another captive sovereign, David, King of Scotland, while enjoying the chivalrous hospitality of the English Court, was permitted to be a spectator of the tournament at Smithfield, 1357, where Edward is said to have sat crowned between his two royal prisoners in a regal pavilion overlooking the arena.[36] The Scottish King, notwithstanding the presence in England of his Queen Joanna, the second daughter of Edward II., amused the hours of his captivity by entertaining an amour with a London damsel, Katherine Mortimer,[37] who must

[35] "Brute Chronicle, Lambeth MS.," 99 fol. 54 b. col. i.

[36] "Chronicle of St. Albans, Lambeth MS.," No. 6; Boethius, 130.

[37] The King of Scotland's infatuation was regarded not only as

have been extremely adventurous, as well as devoted, for though the captive was removed to Nottingham, Newcastle, and Oldham, she continued to join him. The Queen of Scotland was at the time with the Royal family at Shene, Windsor, or wherever the Court was residing.

One of the most distinguished matrons among the ladies of the Court was the Countess of Salisbury, the fair castellan mentioned by Froissart, who entertained the King, in the absence of her husband, with such cordiality, as to elicit from the monarch a warmer declaration than his hostess approved of. This incident, and the subsequent order of the Garter, as alleged in honour of the virtuous dame, we suspect, rests on no better foundation than the gossip of the Pages. The Earl of Salisbury was one of King Edward's most faithful companions-in-arms, and the chivalry, of which the King was an eminent ornament, would not have tolerated an action so treacherous as the one he is accused of having contemplated.

After the death of Philippa of Hainault, one of her principal attendants was distinguished by the King with particular marks of favour. This was Alice Perrers, who received a portion of her Royal mistress's jewels and wardrobe; probably by way of reward for her attentions during the Queen's illness. Afterwards she shared with the Princesses in the King's

an affront to his wife, but to the Scottish people, and the unfortunate Katherine was assassinated near Melrose, when riding in the King's company, in the year 1360.—*Leland Collect.*, *i.* 578.

bounty, and continued a member of the Royal household at Shene Palace. The King subsequently bestowed upon her one or two manors as a provision for life. As she was young and attractive, the worst construction has sometimes been put upon these favours, especially by female writers, one of whom denounces her "infamous."[38] Another states her to have been "worthless."[39] Their evidence in support of such accusations is, that she once appeared at a tournament in a chariot, and represented "the Lady of the Sun."[40] This was one of the ordinary pageants of the time, and all the ladies of the Court took part in it, each holding the bridle of her mounted knight. There would be just as much justice in so stigmatising a beauty of the nineteenth century, for having taken part in one of her Majesty's balls, in a costume quadrille. Alice Perrers, it may be allowed with Mrs. Everett Green, "was constantly identified with the Royal family, and, shared with them marks of affection from the King."[41] This is the fact—she was regarded as a daughter, and, we have every reason to believe, as a daughter she behaved—probably amusing his leisure by reading romances and playing chess.

Historians of no great repute have openly stated, not only that she was the King's concubine, but that she

[38] Miss Strickland's "Queens of England," i., 589.

[39] Mrs. Everett Green's "Princesses," iii., 210.

[40] Maitland's "Hist. of London," i., 132.

[41] The research of Mrs. Everett Green has found traces of the King's benevolence in the Wardrobe Accounts, as well as in the Patent and Parliamentry Rolls.

sat in the courts of justice to control cases then proceeding; that Sir Peter de la Mare, as Speaker to the House of Commons, (he was not Speaker in this Parliament,) in the name of that assembly, insisted on her removal from about the King's person,[42] and that in consequence the King banished her from Court. This was a little before the death of the Prince of Wales. Soon after Alice appears to have resumed her influence, and Sir Peter de la Mare was committed a close prisoner to Nottingham Castle.[43]

The same author has stated, that when the King was dying at Shene she packed up everything, taking even the rings from the King's fingers, and decamped, and that all his household abandoned him, except one of his chaplains. Not a word of this is true. There is no doubt that the House of Commons, by the Speaker, made complaint against Alice Perrers, and against many other persons who had become obnoxious to them; and that the King, wanting the necessary subsidies, gave what were considered satisfactory answers. With reference to the lady, he ordered "that from thenceforth no woman should for maintenance, or lucre, present any matter in any of the King's

[42] "The Commons also requested to have removed out of the King's house a certain proud woman, called Alice Perrers, who, by overmuch familiarity that she had with the King, was cause of much mischief to the realm; she, exceeding the manner of women, sate by the King's justices, and sometimes by the Doctors of the Consistories, persuading and dissuading in defence of matters, and requesting things contrary to law and honesty, to the great dishonour of the King."—*Stowe's Annales*, 271.

[43] Kennet—"History of England," i., p. 232.

courts, and particularly Alice Perrers, on pain of forfeiting all they have, and being banished the realm for ever." [44]

That Alice Perrers was associated with the daughter and grand-daughter of the King, is clear from various wardrobe accounts [45] of the year 1376, where Isabella, styled Countess of Bedford (wife of Lord de Courcy), and her daughter (afterwards wife of Vere, Earl of Oxford), are provided with rich garments, trimmed with ermine, in the fashion of the robes of the Garter, for that festival; and with others of shaggy velvet, trimmed with the same fur, for Christmas; while articles of apparel equally costly are registered as sent by the King to his chamber at Shene, to be given to Alice Perrers. There is no complaint from the Princess or her daughter of this association. Nor is there the slightest reason for believing that they, or the other princesses and ladies of rank who shared with the King's *protégée* the amusements of the court, considered her society a degradation. There are several grants to this lady in the public records, besides the one given in Rymer,[46] which is stated three years earlier than the wardrobe accounts.

Hunting and hawking were in great favour with the higher classes throughout England in this reign, particularly with the Royal family and the Court. Edward III. enjoyed these sports as much as any of his sub-

[44] Barnes' "Edward III.," p. 882.

[45] Quoted in "Lives of the Princesses," iii., 214.

[46] Fœdera. vii., 28.

jects, till he grew too old for fearless riding; he then encouraged the members of his family and his attendants to pursue the healthy exercise on every occasion that presented itself. Shene was a good district for game, but Windsor was more frequently resorted to by the royal falconers and huntsmen. Here the King caused twelve ladies, including his daughters and Alice Perrers, to be clothed in handsome hunting suits, with ornamented bows and arrows, to shoot at the King's deer; and a very attractive band of foresters they must have made.

About this period the King's son, John, Duke of Lancaster, had paramount authority, and would not have hesitated to remove anyone in the King's household who was exercising an improper influence over his father. It is, nevertheless, evident that there was a prosecution and conviction of Alice Perrers.

At the parliament held in 1377, on February the 22nd, a committee of the lay and spiritual Lords proceeded from London to Shene, where the King was then suffering from indisposition, and he considered the petitions that were there presented to him. Among them we find that the Commons moved for a pardon of Richard Lyon, merchant, of London, and for his full restitution. Then they made the like motion for revocation of the judgment given against Alice Perrers, and for her restitution.[47]

The meaning of this is, that the clamour which had, for political purposes, been got up against this lady and

[47] Barnes' "Edward III.," 902.

other parties, had subsided, and the Parliament were now desirous that its victims should have justice done them. Barnes, at the conclusion of his history, refutes the whole story, which rests exclusively on the authority of Walsingham and a Monk of St. Alban's, from whose chronicle it was copied.

A chronicler, known as the Monk of St. Alban's, for some reason much prejudiced against Alice Perrers, represents the Duke of Lancaster as causing the Corporation of the City of London to be summoned to appear before the King "at his manore of Shene," and that they beheld him in the palace "placed in a certain chair, and sitting like an image, and not able well to speak for the manifold griefs that he had by his sickness; and certain bishops, with the Archbishop, the Duke, and the King's sons, with many lords and honourable men, sitting about him."[48] This monkish writer subsequently narrates the plunder of the dying King by Alice Perrers, and his abandonment by all his attendants, except one priest, who stayed by him and administered the last consolations of religion.

Stowe says that, during the King's last illness, Alice Perrers and her daughter, Isabel, remained in his chamber every night[49] He also states that she interceded for William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, who had also been made the victim of popular injustice, but adds, that she was bribed to employ her good offices. Furthermore, he accuses her of keeping the

[48] MS. Harleian, 6217, edited by Amyot. "Archæologia," xxii., 227.

[49] Annales, 272.

King's mind intent upon hunting and hawking during his last sickness, instead of allowing it to be prepared for his coming dissolution.

The King had all the consolation he required from his prelates and chaplains, who had access to him; and he must have been well enough to transact business up to within a few days of his death; for commissioners who had been sent to treat of a peace between France and England, sailed from Calais about the middle of June, and, having arrived safely in London, proceeded to Shene.[50]

The King died on the 21st of the same month. His principal servants were in attendance; his grandson and the Dowager Princess of Wales being at Kennington, were quickly summoned, when their presence was required;[51] and it is on record that every necessary attention was paid to him in his last moments. His body was immediately embalmed,[52] and in due time left the palace of Shene to receive a magnificent entombment in the Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster.

There is no doubt that all the family of the deceased king then in England, if not present at his dissolution, were summoned in time to assist in paying respect to his remains. Fabian states—"And upon the twenty-

[50] Barnes' "Edward III.," 908.

[51] A deputation from the citizens of London arrived at Shene before the King had expired, and found his grandson in attendance, and advised him to make the Tower his residence. —*Lingard*, iv., 162.

[52] Wardrobe Accounts of Richard I., Queen's Remembrancer's Office, No. 1205.

second day of the month of June, died at his Manor of Shene, now called Rychemount, King Edward the Third of that name, when he had reigned fifty-one years and five months, and odd days, leaving after him four sons —that is to say, Lionel Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langley Duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock Earl of Cambridge, of the which sons, with other nobles of the realm, he was honourably conveyed from his said Manor of Shene unto the Monastery of Westminster, and there solemnly buried within the Chapel of St. Edward." [53]

In the year 1800 there were discovered on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, a series of mural paintings, placed in arcades over the altar—on one side were figures about eighteen inches in height, representing Edward III., the Prince of Wales, and his brothers, with the patron saint of England, St. George. On the other were Queen Philippa and her daughters, all in cotemporary costume. There were also several Scriptural subjects, though they were soon afterwards destroyed. An account of these interesting paintings, written by Sir Harry Englefield, with illustrations, was published by the Society of Antiquaries.

[53] "New Chronicles of England and France," edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 487.

CHAPTER VI.

Richard II. and "Good Queen Anne" at Shene—Magnificence of the Court—Death of the Queen—The King's alleged Destruction of the Palace—His last Visit to Shene.

After the death of Edward III., the persecutors of Alice Perrers, at the head of whom there is reason to believe was the mother of the young King, had it all their own way. The steward of the King's household, Sir Richard Scrope, brought her before the Lords, charged with disobeying the late King's order respecting female interference. The special cases adduced were the recall of Sir Nicholas Dagworth from Ireland, and the restitution of the lands and goods of Richard Lyon, the merchant. It was quite useless her averring that she had neither sought nor obtained any advantage while endeavouring to serve others; and it was very easy now to procure persons ready to swear that she had exercised the alleged influence, as it is stated, "in their con-

ceits, for her own private gain." Of course, the Lords gave judgment against her, and her sentence was banishment, and the forfeiture of all her goods.[54]

This severity, however, defeated its purpose. One of the most distinguished knights of the Court, Sir William de Windsor, of whose family, in connection with Richmond, we have already made honourable mention, married her. He was a man of the highest honour, had held under Edward III. the important post of Lord Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, and was the last man in that chivalrous age likely to ally himself with an infamous woman. The injustice of the Lords' decision shortly became manifest, and in the second year of the new King's reign it was reversed.[55]

[54] Sir Robert Cotton, referring to this injustice, says:—"To say truth of the devil is accounted commendable, and therefore surely the record against the said lady, being very long, proves no such heinous matter against her; only it shows how she was in such credit with King Edward the Third that she sat at his bed's head, when others were fain to stand at the chamber door; and that she moved those things unto him, which they of the Privy Chamber durst not. And further, those two points for which she was condemned seemed very honest; only her misfortune was, that she was friendly to many, but all were not so to her. The record is strange, and worthy of perusal." Barnes, in his "Edward III." defends Alice Perrers from the aspersions cast upon her name, so does Carte's "History of England;" but Dr. Lingard, apparently following the example of Rapin, reproduces them in all their unfairness. Lingard's "History of England," iv., 105; Tindal's "Rapin," iv., 335; and James' "Life of the Black Prince," ii., 381—follow Stowe, who followed Walsingham. Many other historical writers have been content with the same authority.

[55] Dugdale's "Baronage," i., 510.

Sir William de Windsor, it is evident, did not lose caste by his marriage, for he was summoned to Parliament as a baron from 1381 to 1384, in which year he died, and, leaving no issue by his wife, his three sisters were adjudged to be his heirs, and his honours became extinct. His widow was well provided for, though she certainly did not make the most of her alleged influence over Edward III., her name not being mentioned in his will.[56] She had children by her first husband, and bequeathed at her death to her younger son, John, one of her manors, and the rest of her goods and chattels to be divided between him and his sister, Joan, who married Robert Skerne, of Kingston,[57] in Surrey; and his grandson was appointed by Henry VII. *custos* of the Manor of Richmond. The brasses of Joan and Robert Skerne may still be seen in Kingston church.[58]

Sir William de Windsor's attachment to Alice Perrers was of long standing, and must have been known to Edward III., as it certainly was to his faithful Commons, who, when instigated to proceed against her, were desirous of having her sent to Ireland, of which kingdom her lover was then lieutenant; and his second commission for that office was nearly of the same date as the grant of some of the late Queen's jewels to Alice.[59] This fact, taken in connection with

[56] Royal Wills, 59.

[57] Collins' "Historical and Genealogical Account of the Family of Windsor," 4to., 1754.

[58] Britton and Brayley's "History of Surrey," iii.

[59] "Rymeri Fœdera," vii., 28; "Archæologia," xxii., 235.

the highly honourable character of Sir William, and of the long and virtuous life of the aged monarch, ought to be sufficient to weigh down the scandals reported by one or two priests, whose absurd tales against the lady carry their own refutation.[60]

Froissart has preserved some curious particulars relating to John of Ghent's marriage with Catherine Swynford, who had been one of the attendants of his preceding duchess. This *mésalliance* evidently created an immense sensation among the chief ladies of the Court; and the Duchess of Gloucester, the Countess of Derby, the Countess of Arundel, and other female members of the Royal family, were highly indignant, and expressed their feelings in very strong terms. Notwithstanding this storm, she took her place at Court as Duchess of Lancaster, "the second lady in England," which she retained as long as she lived.[61] This lady was sister to Chaucer's wife.

Chaucer having been employed to negotiate the Prince of Wales' marriage, in the last year of the reign of his grandfather, in conjunction with Sir Guichard D'Angle, and Richard Sturry, was a strong recommendation to the young King; and it was not forgotten. In the first year of Richard's reign, the poet received a confirmatory grant of his annuity, as well as another of the same sum, instead of his daily pitcher of wine; which two grants, ten years later, he was permitted to

[60] One accuses her of employing a friar to bewitch the King, by means of magic pictures and rings.—*MS. Harleian*, 6217.

[61] "Chronicles of England and France," chap. xxiii.

dispose of. It was in the thirteenth year of King Richard that he was appointed Clerk of the Works, when he received payment of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which is thus recorded:—"To Geoffrey Chaucer, Clerk of the Works of the Lord the King, within the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, and divers others the King's castles and manors."

Chaucer's connection with Shene must have been more intimate after the 12th of July, 1389; he superintended the Royal works, which included the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, the Castle of Berkhamstead, the Royal manors of Kennington, Eltham, Clarendon, Shene, Byfleet, Childern Langley, and Feckenham, with the Royal lodge at Hathenburgh, in the New Forest; the lodges in parks at Clarendon, Langley, and Feckenham, as well as the works in progress at "the Mews," where the falcons were kept at Charing Cross. Although he was allowed a deputy to perform this service, his time being taken up with other duties, his position near the King's person—having been appointed one of his esquires—must have brought him frequently to Shene when the King was there. Chaucer remained Clerk of the Works but two years. Shene went on, nevertheless, and a Royal palace was completed, in which the King resided.

Anne of Bohemia, the first wife of Richard II., made it her principal summer residence soon after her marriage; and the mansion underwent considerable improvements, internally and externally, to render it fit for the "daughter of the Cæsars," as she was styled.

The young king's love of magnificence was only exceeded by his love of lavishing the contents of the royal treasury; and as artificers were skilful and numerous, he met with no difficulty in rendering his grandfather's Manor-house worthy of the name of an imperial palace. The regal state he maintained around him, and his princely hospitality, have been frequently commented on. Walsingham states that the King entertained every day six thousand persons; that he had three hundred servants, and the Queen the same number, and that he prided himself in surpassing all other sovereigns in display, as though his treasures were inexhaustible. Another authority informs us that, besides a body-guard of two hundred men, he had in his retinue thirteen bishops, and so many barons, knights, and baronets, in addition to the ordinary establishment; and that ten thousand persons are said to have sat down to his hospitable table every day.[62]

The most distinguished among the courtiers, by the Royal favour, was Robert de Vere, ninth Earl of Oxford, and tenth Lord Chamberlain. Richard lavished honours and gifts upon him that were considered far above his deserts. He was elevated to the dignity of Marquis of Dublin, with a grant of the land and dominion of Ireland, of which country, in a few months later, he was created Duke. Such extraordinary rewards, coupled with the influence he appeared to possess over his youthful sovereign, excited the indignation of many of the nobility. He married Lady Philippa,

[62] Stowe—"Annales," 323.

daughter of Ingelram de Courcy, and consequently grand-daughter of Edward III.

The King and Queen were continually presiding at banquets and tournaments, which were rendered as imposing as the luxurious taste of the age could make them. At Shene all the gallantry and chivalry that England possessed assembled to honour and entertain their liege lord and lady. The Court was not only a splendid one, but was remarkable for its gaiety, and was entertained by a constant round of amusements Some of the ladies in attendance on the young Queen, she had brought with her from Bohemia; but they entered into the spirit of the new scenes to which they were introduced with quite as much animation as their English associates; indeed, one of them, the Landgravine of Luxembourg,[63] became enamoured of the King's favourite, the Earl of Oxford, who not only was a married man, but his wife was the King's cousin—a personage, it might have been thought, too high for neglect, too powerful for wrong. Nevertheless, the lovers, in their position as the King's and the Queen's favourites, acted as if they could set both power and right at defiance; and there is evidence that they received the support on which they relied. The Queen allowed herself to be persuaded to write a letter to the Pope, asking for a divorce for the Earl from his wife, that he might marry the Landgravine. The object sought was not gained, and the wrong done to a grand-daughter of Edward III., by the proceedings the King and Queen

[63] So styled in the Fœdera.

had sanctioned, was one of the first of those unwarrantable acts which alienated from Richard the affections of his powerful uncles, York and Gloucester.

The Earl of Arundel was one of the wealthiest of the powerful barons who controlled the King in his youth. He was not only famous on the Continent for knightly accomplishments, but, according to a French romance, he distinguished himself by running a horse-race with the young King, in England,[64]—possibly at Shene. In 1397, when the most rigorous measures were pursued against the nobles of the Court, who had made themselves obnoxious to the King by their proceedings against his personal friends, the Earl was beheaded,[65] though sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Efforts were made, before execution, to prevail on Lord Arundel to declare where he had concealed his treasures; but, far from gratifying the desire of his enemies to get at his wealth, his only reply came in the shape of insult and abuse.

Sir Simon Burley, a knight of acknowledged valour, who possessed in perfection the chivalrous qualities then held in most esteem, had been selected as the Prince's tutor. He was subsequently the young King's Vice-Chamberlain, and for his services, military and diplomatic, was created a Knight of the Garter, and appointed Governor of Windsor Castle, and Warden of

[64] "Le Livre du Chevalier Errant," MS. Bibl. du Roi. Quoted by Mr. B. Williams, in his edition of "Hystoire de la Traison et Mort, du Roy Richard Dengleterre," 136.

[65] Rot. Parl., iii., 377.

the Cinque Ports. He had the singular good fortune of enjoying the friendship of Chaucer and Froissart; with the former he was employed in a secret embassy, and the latter recorded his merits in his immortal chronicle. The favours he received from his sovereign excited the ill feeling of several powerful barons, including the Earl of Warwick.

Fabian thus chronicles this revolutionary movement, which took place about this time:—

"The eleventh year of King Richard, Sir Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, and the Earls of Warwick, of Derby, and of Nottingham, considering how the King and his land was misled by a few persons about the King, intending reformation of the same, assembled them to have a council at Radcot Bridge; and after arrived great people, and so with strong power came to London, and there caused the King to call a parliament. Whereof hearing, Master Alexander Neville, then Archbishop of York, Sir Lionel Vere, Marquis of Develyn, and Sir Richard de la Pole, Chancellor and Earl of Suffolk, fearing punishment, fled the land, and so died in strange countries. Then the King, by council of the other of the above-named lords during the Parliament, caused to be taken, Sir Robert Trevelyan, Chief Justice of England; Sir Nicholas Brembre, late mayor of the City of London; Sir John Salisbury, Knight of the household; Sir John Beauchamp, steward, also of the King's house; Sir Symonde of Beverly (Sir Simon Burley), knight, Sir James Berners, and Sir Robert

Belknap, knights, and a sergeant-at-arms, called John Uske, the which, by authority of the said Parliament, were convicted of treason, and for the same put to execution at Tyburn, and at the Tower Hill; and John Holt, John Loeton, Richard Grey, William Burgth, and Robert Fulthorpe, Justice with the aforesaid Lords, which, as before is said, voided the land, and, by authority of the said Court of Parliament, were banished and exiled the land for ever."[66]

When the King's uncles, and other powerful nobles, had made their influence overrun the King's authority, the young monarch's personal friends and confidential advisers were proceeded against with great severity. Sir Simon Burley was committed to the Tower on the charge of having defrauded the exchequer of two hundred and fifty thousand francs. It was in vain he pleaded his expenses in Germany and Bohemia, when negociating the King's marriage, and offered, if they would send him a clerk, to make clear his accounts, or repay any balance that might be against him—he was left in the Tower. Froissart states that the King did everything in his power to deliver him from prison "during the time that he resided at Shene,"[67] but the confederates and the commons were resolved on putting him and all the King's friends out of the way; and, notwithstanding the private assurances of the Duke of Ireland that his life should be spared, and the entreaties of the Queen to the Earl of Warwick, the

[66] "New Chronicles," 534.

[67] "Chronicles of England, France, &c.," cap. lxxix.

confederates took advantage of the absence of the King and court, then travelling towards Wales, to have him beheaded as a traitor on the square before the Tower. "I was exceedingly vexed thereat," says Froissart, "and personally much grieved: for in my youth I had found him a gentle knight, and, according to my understanding, of great good sense."[68] When the King heard of Sir John Burley's execution he was very angry, and determined on those measures of retribution which have left so deep a stain on his memory. He swore the act should not remain unavenged, for his tutor had been cruelly put to death, and without the smallest plea of justice.[69] Knowing the royal intentions, the Duke of Ireland took his measures to effect a counter-revolution. He raised an army for the King, and the Duke of Gloucester, with the Londoners, marched to oppose it, when it had reached the neighbourhood of Oxford. His troops, on the first day, were quartered at Brentford and the surrounding villages, and having forded the Thames, came so unexpectedly upon the Royal forces, that they broke up and fled. The Duke of Ireland escaped out of the country with some of his companions, but the others were slain, or taken prisoners, and many were subsequently beheaded.

The King had continued at Bristol during these proceedings, but his uncles, who had joined the confederacy, sent for him, and he was obliged to return to London. For some time afterwards he remained

[68] Froissart—"Chronicles," cap. lxxx.
[69] Ibid.

entirely under their controul, residing chiefly with his Queen at Shene, apparently nursing projects of emancipation and revenge, while enjoying with his customary zest the pleasures by which he took care to be surrounded. The war with Scotland, and the battle of Otterbourne, and subsequently tournaments in France and England, occupied the attention of the nobles.

The manner in which the confederates endeavoured to amuse their sovereign, after they had made him little better than a puppet in their hands, with military pageants, is described at length by most of the chroniclers. The King and Queen were obliged to leave their retirement at Shene, to be present at these entertainments, in which probably they took less interest than any of the spectators, though every exertion was made to satisfy the people of the contrary. Fabian says—"In the twelfth year and month of November, yet during the Parliament, was executed in Smithfield, of London, a martial joust and tournament, where, as all such persons as came in upon the King's party, their armour and apparel, were garnished with white hertys, (harts,) and crowns of gold about their necks, and of the sort were twenty-four, with twenty-four ladies, also apparelled as above is said, led with twenty-four chains of gold, the horses of them, and so conveyed them through the city into Smithfield, from the Tower of London; where the King, the Queen, and many other great estates being present, after proclamations by the heralds made, many goodly and martial acts of war were then put in use, to the great recreation and com-

fort of the King and Queen, and all other beholders of the same. To this disport came many strangers, among the which the Earl of St. Pol, the Lord Ostrevaunt, son and heir unto the Duke of Holland, and a young son of the Earl of Ostryche, were greatly commended, and when these jousts had continued by sundry times by the space of twenty-four days, to the great comfort and recreation of many young and lusty bachelors, desirous to win worship, and to the King's great honour, that [who] by all that season kept open household for all honest comers; it was finished, and the strangers returned to their countries with many rich gifts."[70]

It was in the following year that a trial by battle was fought in the King's Palace at Westminster, between an English and a French esquire, which, after "a strong fight," ended in favour of the Englishman; and his antagonist, having been stripped of his armour, was drawn to Tyburn and hanged.[71] In the year 1394, also, certain Scottish Knights, having challenged the like number of English gentlemen, the combat came off at Smithfield, to the glory of the latter; for the Earl of Nottingham, Marshal of England, overthrew his antagonist, the Lord Norris, and so bruised him that he died at York on his return.

More banquets and more tournaments followed. Shene was gayer than ever, till, in 1392, the King's in-

[70] "New Chronicles. Septima pars. Richardi II." 534. These jousts did not always end so happily. At one held at Woodstock, in the year 1392, the young Earl of Pembroke was killed by Sir John St. John.

[71] Ibid., 535.

creasing unpopularity caused a riot in London. Some writers have found it difficult to account for the animosity with which the people of the metropolis regarded their sovereign, but it is easily explained. To the foreign wars of Edward III. they had contributed a considerable force, and the survivors, by the plunder of towns and the ransom of prisoners, acquired great wealth. The Londoners had long been anxious for a new war, and finding their youthful King averse to take advantage of their martial predilections, they year by year grew more dissatisfied, till they broke out into acts of open violence, in contempt of the Royal authority. These the King punished by taking away the privileges of the city, and removing the Parliament to York; but Queen Anne, assisted by the Bishop of London, having interposed in favour of the apparently penitent citizens, their franchises were restored. The transaction is thus stated by Fabian, in the mayoralty of William Stoudon, Grocer:—

"In this Mayor's year, and sixteenth year of King Richard, this new Mayor, with the worthiest men of the city, made assiduous and daily means unto the King's grace, for to have his most bounteous pardon, and his especial favour unto the city, the which at length, by means of such friends as they *purchased* about the King, and especially by labour of the good Queen Anne, and the forenamed Bishop of London, they were put in good comfort, upon their demeanour and submission at the King's coming to London. Upon which comfort the citizens made Royal and cus-

todious (costly) purveyance to receive the King in their best manner; and having monition that the King intended to come unto his palace of Westminster, apparelled them in one livery, and, to the number of four hundred horsemen, well be seen, met with him upon the Heath, on this half his Manor of Shene, where, in most lowly wise, according to their duties, they submitted them unto his Grace, beseeching him of his special grace and pardon, in all such things as they before times had offended against his Highness; and to the intent that his Grace might see the conformity of all his other subjects, the Recorder made instance to him that he would of his great bounty take so great pain (trouble) upon him as to ride through his chamber of London; the which request he graciously accepted, and so held on his journey, till he came at London Bridge, where he was presented with two fair steeds trapped in rich cloth of gold, partly of red and white, the which present he thankfully received, and after held on his way until he came to the Standard in Cheap, the citizens of the city standing upon either side of the streets in their liveries, and crying, 'King Richard! King Richard!' and at their backs and windows, and walls hanged with all rich tapestry, and cloth of Arras in most goodly and showy wise: and at the said Standard in Cheap was ordained a sumptuous stage, in the which were set divers personages in rich apparel, among the which an Angel was ordained, which set a rich crown of gold, garnished

with stone and pearl, upon the King's head as he passed by."[72]

This formed only a portion of the expenditure of the citizens; for the following day the Mayor presented the King with two gilt basins, containing two thousand gold nobles, and a silver gilt table, engraved and enamelled most curiously, with the story of St. Edward the Confessor, which was valued at a thousand marks.

The King's mind was set on peace, while the majority of the aristocracy and commons were intent on war. There is a beautiful illumination to a MS. letter, written by a Celestine monk at Paris, representing the monk on his knees, presenting an epistle, containing his views on the subject of peace between the kingdoms of France and England, to King Richard, who, royally arrayed, is seated on a throne, holding out his hand for the MS., while his martial uncles, the Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester are standing near, perhaps not well pleased with the proceeding.[73] A treaty of peace between the two sovereigns was negotiated, and comissioners came from the French king to England. After their arrival in London, they followed the King and the Court to Eltham, to Shene, and to Windsor;[74] but the mental infirmity of Charles VI. delayed the proceedings, and though he recovered for a time, a relapse was brought on by a fright, occasioned by a company of mummers dressed as savages, whose inflammable dresses caught fire. This excited the most

[72] "Chronicles," 438. [73] Royal MSS., 20, B. vi.
[74] Froissart, chap. xxxvii.

frantic alarm among the spectators, and occasioned the death of all the maskers, except one, who ran away, and threw himself into a tub of water in the buttery. The negotiations were continued under many disadvantages—the Duke of Lancaster assisting the King in his efforts to bring about a peace; for which, and for other important services, he received, from his nephew, a grant of the Duchy of Aquitane.

While the important business of the peace was proceeding, Richard's Queen was seized with a sudden illness, described as having been of a pestilential character, and expired on the feast of Whitsuntide, 1394; not only to the grief of the King, but to the sorrow of the household, and of the entire nation. Stowe, in relating this event says: "On the 7th of June, Queen Anne died at Shene, in Surrey, and was buried at Westminster. The King took her death so heavily, that besides cursing the place where she died, he did also, for anger, throw down the buildings, unto which former kings, being weary of the city, were wont for pleasure to resort."[75]

The King was apparently inconsolable, and could think of nothing but a sumptuous funeral, to which, by letters dated the 10th of June, he summoned the principal barons of the kingdom, and the citizens of London, to attend at Shene, on Wednesday before the 3rd of August, to accompany the Royal corpse in funeral procession to Westminster. Consequently, when that day arrived, a prodigious number of mourners, of

[75] "Annales."

all ranks and of both sexes, attended, and accompanied the hearse—some mounted, some on foot, but all in mourning garments, and bearing wax torches in a quantity never seen before in England. In this state all that remained of "good Queen Anne," as she was popularly styled, was carried from her pleasant home at Shene to her place of sepulture in the Abbey of Westminster, where a funeral sermon was preached by Thomas Arundel (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) eulogising her virtues, and dwelling on the fact of her reading the Scriptures in English.

Leland, misled by Stowe and other chroniclers, is the chief authority for stating that Richard razed this palace to the ground, through grief for the loss of his amiable and affectionate consort, and has been followed by subsequent writers. Mr. Tyler not only avers that he destroyed the palace, but built a monastery on the site. The religious edifice he refers to appears to have been built opposite Sion Abbey, on the Kew side of the palace. Froissart not only does not mention this frantic act, but expressly states that the King and his Court were at Shene several times subsequently, of which he must have been an eye-witness, for he was in England at the time, and had many friends at Court. A careful antiquarian scholar[76] has recently repeated, that Richard, after Queen Anne's demise, never would enter the palace, and that it went to decay.

[76] Mr. Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., note to his edition of "Henrici Quinti, Angliæ, Regis, Gesta." Published by the English Historical Society, 1856.

The young consort of Richard II. had, of course, set the fashion at Shene to all the ladies, not only of the Court, but of the kingdom; and in head dresses began a change that was very far from an improvement. The garland and caul gradually extended till they reached the most preposterous shape and dimensions. In the brass of Joan, the daughter of Alice Perrers, in Kingston Church, this decoration is evidently in a transition state, as it is in that of Margaret, widow of Sir Fulke Tennebrigg, in Shottesbrook Church, Berkshire, who died in the year 1401; it is more fully developed on the effigy of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, in Arundel Church, who died a little later—1439. The dresses were rich, and not ungraceful. It has been stated that Anne of Bohemia introduced the side-saddle, but very long before her arrival in England ladies rode sideways.[77]

The literature patronised by the Queen differed but little from that of the preceding reign. The most popular romance in England, especially with aspiring squires and pages attached to the Court, was the far-famed Guy of Warwick. This English worthy was originally one of the pages who were at the period educated with the younger branches of the family of a great baron. In the story this lord, the Earl of Warwick, is represented as flourishing in the reign of Athelstane, a Saxon king; but the general characteristics of

[77] It was first asserted by Rous, "Historia Regnum Angliæ;" but Strutt. i. 85, proves that Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman women rode as they did in the reign of Richard II.

the narrative belong to the fourteenth century. The father of the page is the lord's steward, and the youth, with a handsome person, versed in all chivalrous accomplishments, and dressed very handsomely, had the presumption to fall in love with the Earl's daughter. He was very properly treated with disdain, for the young lady looks high above such small game as pages. She, however, relents so far, on finding her youthful lover at the point of death, in consequence of her treatment of his suit, as to promise she will listen to him when he becomes a knight renowned for skill in the tournament, and valour in battle. Guy gets well instantaneously, obtains the honour of knighthood, with rich armour, a good steed, and other handsome gifts from his lord, and at once starts on his travels. The youth knocks over the most stalwart opponents at every tournament at which he appears, and wins all the prizes, as well as the hearts of the Emperor's and King's daughters, by whom they were presented. Having visited several countries, and won renown in all, he returned to the lady of his affections; but she was not satisfied with her lover being merely one of the famous knights of her time, he must be pre-eminent. Felice told him this, and with Guy to hear was to obey. He starts for a second course of travel, and a second series of adventures, performing impossible feats with ease, again overthrows all who oppose him, without reference to number, including sundry Saracens, one Sultan, one dragon, and one wild boar; leads armies, liberates captives, and takes castles and cities in all directions;

finally, returning to England, just in time to have a bout with another dragon. How this monstrous saurean, and others who figure in similar narratives, escaped the fate of his associates, we are not informed, and must leave to Professor Owen the task of identifying him by his description:—

"He is as black as any coal,
Rugged as a rough foal;
His body, from the navel upward,
No man can pierce—it is so hard.
His neck is great as any sommere,
He runneth as swift as any destrere.[78]
Paws he hath as a lion,
All that he toucheth he slayeth dead down;
Great wings he hath to flight,
There is no man that bear him might.
There may no man fight him again,
But that he slayeth him certain;
For a fouler beast than is he,
I wiss of none never heard ye."

Guy drove his sword down the monster's throat, cut off his head, and carried it to King Athelstane. He then presents himself to his mistress, who was now satisfied, and the lovers are married. Guy, however, did not enjoy his hard-earned happiness long. After forty days he chose to quit his bride, ostensibly to make a pilgrimage, but of course to seek a fresh series of adventures. He begins by slaying, in single combat, the giant, Amiraunt of Ethiopia, and ends with doing the same favour for a Danish Colossus, the still more terrible Colbrand. As a pilgrim he visits his Felice,

[78] War-horse.

and having witnessed her virtuous life, retires to a hermitage, where, when he is dying, he sends for her; she receives his last breath, and in a few days afterwards is buried with him in the same grave.

Sir Bevis, of Hampton, was a rival in the affections of the reading public of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with Guy of Warwick. His attractions appear to have been given him for that particular purpose. It would take up too much space to describe his innumerable and astounding adventures. "The child was father to the man," at seven years old, when, with a cudgel, he rushed into the hall of his father's castle, and knocked down the murderous Sir Murdour, his stepfather. The subsequent series of conflicts, in which he overthrew scores at a time of the most powerful knights, including a liberal allowance of giants, dragons, and lions, may be anticipated from this sample of his juvenile prowess. When the fair Josyan armed him for his fight with the giant Radyson, the result might easily have been anticipated:—

"Bevis did on his acquetoun
That had aughted many a town;
A hauberk Josyan him brought,
Soothly a better was never y wrought;
A helm she gave him good and fair,
There might nothing it appayre;
Then gave him that fair May,
A good sword that hight 'Morglay;'
There was no better under the sun,
Many a land therewith was won.
Josyan gave him siththen a steed,
The best that ever on ground yede;

Full well I can his name tell—
Men called him Arundel!
There was no horse in the world so strong,
That might him follow a furlong."

This hero, it is presumed, was not unacquainted with Shene; for when, towards the close of his career, he landed with an army at Southampton, on his march to London, he encamped at Putney, and returned to this position after a great battle in King Edgar's capital; subsequently marching back to the port, to embark for his foreign dominions.

Pleasant reading was also found in the "Story of the Seven Wise Masters," the similarity of which to the tales of the "Thousand and One Nights," indicate its Arabian origin—one among many obligations of the literature of England, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that science, even many chivalrous usages, lay under to the Spanish Arabs. Several of the narratives in the "Gesta Romanorum," and the foundation of many French *fabliaux* and early Italian *novelli*, can be traced to an eastern source. Despite of Christian execration of "Mahound" and all his followers, Christian knights and ladies were always glad to clothe their bodies in Oriental fabrics, and entertain their minds with the produce of Arabian imaginations.

The English language had made a considerable advance during the last two or three centuries. The poetry of Layamon, and of Nicholas de Guildford, is barbarous compared with the more euphonious productions of Chaucer and Gower; and it is evident, from the num-

ber and variety of native prose and poetical writers who flourished in this reign, that the vernacular was gaining favour at Court, as well as with the educated classes generally. The fashionable French romances began to appear in English, and these versions speedily became as popular as their originals; still, the bulk of the current literature remained either French or Latin—languages which were still cultivated by all persons connected with the State or the Church. Richard II. and "the good Queen Anne" were fond of hearing the perusal of the best writings of their time; and many an hour, that could not be devoted to out-door sports, was passed in listening to the prose and poetical compositions that were considered worthy of Royal patronage.

One of the confidential advisers of the young King was Sir Richard Sturrey, who had been, as we have shown, in the service of the late King. He had been proceeded against by the confederates, but, more fortunate than his colleague, managed to escape with his life. When Froissart revisited England in 1396, he still belonged to the royal household; and at Eltham palace, near the King's chamber, the chronicler had many conferences with him, on the state of the country. Through his influence, and that of Sir Thomas Percy the Lord Steward, Froissart obtained an audience of the King, when he presented a MS. volume of his poems on Love, handsomely written and illustrated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver gilt studs and roses, and two large silver clasps, similarly orna-

mented. It was graciously received, and the donor was permitted to attach himself to the royal household, and to accompany it whenever the King changed his residence. Inconsolable as the royal widower has been represented, he was even then engaged in seeking a second wife.

That the death of "good Queen Anne" was a great loss to the young King, as well as to his people, cannot be denied; for her feminine virtues had reconciled them to their sovereign's want of masculine qualities; but though mourned in every castle and homestead throughout England, it was at Shene where her death was felt as an irreparable calamity. The palace, the scene of ever varying splendour and gaiety, was for a short time deserted—and the green pastures and wooded dales in the vicinity ceased to hear the cheerful music of the hunting horn, or the cries of the falconer after the hawks.

Froissart remained with the royal household during the King's change of abode from Eltham to Leeds castle, and during his stay at Kingston, Shene, Chertsey, and Windsor;[79] it is therefore clear that at this period the King had not made the palace of Shene a ruin. It is probable that he merely unfurnished the chambers for the decoration of Windsor, where the child of eight years of age, he soon after thought proper to marry, lived after her arrival in England. This union was extremely unpopular, not only with the people generally, but with many of the nobles, who had gained their honours, in fighting against the power with which their

[79] "Chronicle of England, France &c.," chap. lxv.

sovereign had now entered into close alliance. The Duke of Lancaster does not appear to have taken any part in the movements which followed; he and his duchess, according to Froissart, remained with the child-queen at Eltham, enjoying the diversion of stag-hunting, while the King was in the neighbourhood of London with his household. The Duke of Gloucester, however, increased, as much as he could, the popular dissatisfaction; and being extremely disliked at Court for his overbearing manners, got the reputation of being at the head of a conspiracy. Sir Thomas Percy, the steward of the household, surrendered his office, according to Froissart, because he saw troubles impending: but some of the courtiers represented to the King that he and all his other loyal servants were afraid of the Duke of Gloucester, who had threatened to bring them all to an ignominious end. Richard, impressed with the conviction that it was better to destroy than wait to be destroyed, made a sudden resolution. Under the pretext of deer-hunting he proceeded to his palace at Havering-at-the-Bower, which was half-way to the Duke of Gloucester's castle at Pleshy; at the castle he appeared unexpectedly, just as the duke had finished supper. After partaking of a slight repast, the King prevailed on his uncle to accompany him to London, to transact some urgent business; and shortly after taking a very friendly leave of the duchess and her children, left with the duke and a few attendants. They rode fast till about ten at night they came to a lane in Stratford leading to the Thames, when the King suddenly

dashed on at speed; the Duke of Gloucester found himself in an ambush, and was arrested by the Earl-Marshal, on a charge of high treason. A vessel was ready, into which the duke was carried, despite his cries to the King; it presently set sail, and the next evening he was safe in the fortress of Calais. A short time afterwards he was smothered with pillows, and then it was reported that he had died of apoplexy. His body was returned to his widow at Pleshy, and buried in the church.

This tragedy was not thought sufficient: the principal associates of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, were arrested and placed in the Tower; the first was beheaded at Cheapside by the King's order—the other, for whom powerful intercession was made, was banished to the Isle of Man.[80]

The King seized Pleshy, and indeed appropriated all the possessions of his murdered uncle,[81] taking his heir in ward, as well as the heir of the Earl of Arundel. He affected increased state, selected a council from the knights of his chamber, and surrounded himself with a body-guard of two thousand archers; but though he contrived to disarm the resentment of the powerful brother of the murdered duke, John of Ghent, his position was daily becoming more insecure.

Chaucer about this time had attached himself to his

[80] Froissart, in mistake, names the Isle of Wight, which he considers possesses space sufficient for the residence of a great lord; who, however, must get provisions from the mainland.

[81] Gough's "History of Pleshy."

brother-in-law, the Duke of Lancaster, and shared the sentiments of his party. It was most probably after the death of the Duke of Gloucester that he addressed the King in the following short poem:—

BALADE SENT TO KING RICHARD.

Sometime the world so stedfast was and stable,
That man's word was an obligation;
And now it is so false and deceivable,
That word and deed as in conclusion,
Is nothing like, for turned is upside down
All the world, through mede and fickleness,
That all is lost for lack of steadfastness.

What maketh the world to be so variable,
But lust, that men have in dissension:
For among us a man is held unable,
But if he can by some collusion,
Do his neighbour wrong and oppression;
Who causeth this but wilful wretchedness,
That all is lost for lack of steadfastness.

Truth is put down, reason is held fable,
Virtue hath now no domination,
Pity is exiled, no man is merciable,
Through covetise is blente discretion,
The world hath made a permutation,
From right to wrong, from truth to fickleness,
That all is lost for lack of steadfastness.

L'ENVOYE.

Prince! desire to be honourable,
Cherish folk, and hate extortion,
Suffer nothing that may be reprovable
To thine estate, done in thy region,
Show forth the gard of castigation,
Dread God, do law, love truth and worthiness,
And wed thy folk again to steadfastness.

The evils that were produced by the King's misrule

filled the poet with anxiety; but the reader will see, in a similar production printed among his minor works, under the title of "Good Counsail of Chaucer," that he was not without consolation.

After the King had disposed of some of the most powerful of the nobles, by whom he had previously been controlled, he, according to Fabian, ordained a solemn feast, and held open household for all honest comers; for this prince, he states, on the authority of one of the old chroniclers, "passed all other of his progenitors in liberality and bounty." During this festival, he strove, by honours, to attract to him others among the great barons, and rewarded his friends by creating the Earl of Derby, Duke of Hereford; the Earl of Rutland, Duke of Albemarle; the Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey; the Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk; and the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; the Earl of Somerset, Marquis of Dorset; the Lord Spencer, Earl of Gloucester; Baron Westmoreland, Earl of Westmoreland; the Lord Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Sir William Scrope (the Lord Treasurer), Earl of Wiltshire; and Sir John Montague, Earl of Salisbury. These distinctions, however, did not secure the fidelity of some who had received them; the murmurs of the Commons were secretly encouraged, and alarming rumours of all kinds were put in circulation.

The King's chief counsellor now was the Duke of Norfolk, who, to recommend himself further to his patron, repeated some incautious words the Duke of Hereford, the Duke of Lancaster's eldest son, had ut-

tered in his hearing. The King, during a feast held at Eltham, called the latter before him, when occurred the memorable challenge, which was attended by results familiar to every historical student. The banishment of the Duke of Hereford was shortly afterwards followed by his father's death; but the King, badly advised, and, perhaps, badly inclined, daily made himself more unpopular, both with the nobles and the people. He further incensed his banished kinsman by interfering to prevent a marriage he had nearly brought to a conclusion, and causing him to be publicly denounced as a traitor. But the days of his reign were numbered. In vain he announced a tournament and a grand banquet, to be held at Windsor. Many of the great barons would not attend it, and he, neglecting the ominous signs of the times, proceeded to Bristol, on his way to Ireland. While all the real power of the state was passing away from him, he proclaimed sentence of banishment against the powerful Earl of Northumberland and his son, Henry Percy.

It was not long after this that the Duke of Hereford, now by the death of his father, Duke of Lancaster, having been invited by a powerful party to return to England, and having landed at Plymouth, lay the first night at Guildford. Whether he passed through Shene on his way to London is not stated, but his entire route was an ovation, for crowds hurried to meet him to satisfy their joy at his return, and express their impatience of the King's rule. When the Duke obtained possession of the King's person at

Conway Castle, where he had taken refuge on his return from Ireland, he rode with him to Windsor, on leaving which Froissart expressly states,[82] that the Duke did not follow the road to Colnbrook, but that to Shene; that the Duke dined with the King at Chertsey, whence they rode to Shene, and in the night proceeded to London.

What kind of gratification the King could have felt in revisiting, under the circumstances that were now hurrying him to his fate, the scene of his early happiness, it is scarcely possible to imagine. He knew that the Londoners had long hated him, and he dreaded their resentment. This is the ostensible cause for his departure from the usual route; but it is not unreasonable to imagine that, anticipating the doom he felt was hanging over him, he wished to visit once more scenes endeared to him by a thousand pleasurable recollections. Brief time was allowed him for such enjoyments, for at night he was lodged in the Tower, where the next morning he was treated with a foretaste of his own fate, by seeing from the windows of the fortress his chief counsellors and attendants tied to two horses, to be conveyed to a fishmonger's stall at Cheapside, where their heads were struck off, which were placed on London Bridge, while their bodies were suspended from a gallows.

The King was so frightened at these proceedings, that he was easily persuaded to resign the crown to his cousin. Froissart states that he wept bitterly, wrung

[82] "Chronicles," chap. cxiii.

his hands, and cursed the hour he was born; but in the end sent for the Duke, and surrendered his kingly dignity—which act he repeated publicly. In a few days followed the coronation of the Duke, by the title of Henry IV. On this occasion the new King was dressed in a jacket, after the German fashion, of cloth of gold, was mounted on a white courser, and wore a blue garter on his left leg. He passed through the streets of London, which were handsomely decorated for the occasion with tapestries and other rich hangings. There were nine fountains in Cheapside, and in other thoroughfares through which he passed, that flowed with white and red wine. He was escorted by a prodigious cavalcade of six thousand horsemen, noblemen and gentlemen, attended by their servants in their liveries and badges, and the different City companies, with their ensigns.

An effort was made by the few powerful friends of Richard to get up a movement in his favour, but the only result was that, shortly afterwards, a funeral procession left the Tower, carrying the corpse of Richard II., which was conveyed to one of the royal mansions, Langley, where it received burial.

Various accounts have been published of the King's tragic fate, as well as of his escape, and subsequent existence in Scotland. The familiar story of his death, by Sir Piers Exton and his accomplices, is, however, a fiction, and others of his after-career have no better foundation. His escape was most improbable, and his decease may have been hastened by his own fears.

The London palaces of the nobility at this period were marvels of luxury and splendour. One belonging to Richard de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the King's favourite, and afterwards to Richard's half-brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, in Lombard Street, near the Thames, at the back of All Hallow Church, was long quoted for the magnificence and splendour of its furniture. Here the Earl of Huntingdon entertained the King in the year 1397; but after the accession of Henry IV. it became the town residence of Prince Henry.[83] Another princely mansion was the palace of the Savoy, also on the banks of the river, but near Charing Cross, which had been the town residence of the King's uncle, John of Ghent. It was destroyed by a conflagration in the year 1381, by the turbulent Londoners, when its owner had rendered himself unpopular; but he rebuilt it with increased magnificence, and furnished it with corresponding splendour. Among the articles of luxury, in the old palace, there was a coverlet that cost 1000*l.*, and a coat so loaded with gold and precious stones, that it was obliged to be hacked to pieces for division among its captors.

A robe worn by Richard is said to have cost 30,000 marks.[84] His principal officers and favourite companions wore the richest dresses and ornaments that could be obtained; even the yeomen and grooms, we are assured, were clothed in silks, and cloth of gold. The number of ladies and ecclesiastics the King enter-

[83] "Rymeri Foedera," viii., 628.
[84] Sloane MS., 1776.

tained at Shene, and elsewhere, was so large, that the Commons made it the subject of a complaint, objecting to Bishops, more particularly, for not residing at their own dioceses.[85] The King was a liberal host, and distributed his wealth with a lavish hand. He sometimes entertained foreign kings, and it was with imperial hospitality; and to Leo, King of Armenia—as Walsingham states—he gave 1000 marks of gold, in a gilt alms dish, formed like a ship, with the annual pension of a like sum. "There never was a King of England," says Froissart, "who expended such sums, by more than 100,000 florins, as did King Richard, in keeping up his state and his household."

After the dessert spice and wine were served. The former consisted of sweets of various kinds, which came on table in gold and silver boxes. The most in favour were comfiture of aniseed, and of nuts, sugarplums, citron, paste du Roi, manucristi, and sucre rosat. At the Royal table these delicacies were handed to the King by persons of the highest distinction, and sometimes valuable presents were given with them, as when the Duke of Lancaster (John of Ghent) presented to Queen Isabel on the comfits a beautiful gold clasp.[86]

A list of Queen Isabella's jewels, most of which were presented to her, while she remained in England, by

[85] Rot. Parl., iii., 339.

[86] "*Item*, quant la Royne disna o le Duc de Lancastre il le donne au beau fermail d'or sur les espices." List of the Queen's jewels, "Hystoire de la Traison et Mort du Roy Richart D'Angleterre." Edited by Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., 111.

the nobles and ladies of the Court, is an interesting illustration of the taste of the age in such articles of luxury, and shows the wealth possessed by the English aristocracy.

At Calais the King gave her a circlet of gold set half-round with large rubies, sapphires, and pearls. Also, a hanaper and ewer of gold, a very rich chandelier, a case for candles, and a lantern of gold. The Duke of Gloucester presented her with a golden eagle set with precious stones and pearls, and a gold crown; the Duchess a hanaper and cover of gold to contain three quarts; the Earl of Huntingdon a gold hanaper and ewer, a clasp with a diamond, three great rubies, and as many large pearls, that cost 1,800 francs; the Countess a fine diamond; the Duke of Albemarle a circlet of precious stones, formed like flowers; the Earl-Marshal also gave a gold cross, set all over with precious stones and pearls; the Duke of Lancaster presented a large tablet, covered with precious stones and pearls; and his Duchess a hanaper and cover, with a ewer enriched with the same gems. The ecclesiastics presented four pair of large silver gilt basins, while other individuals in Calais and the environs gave twenty-four or twenty-six hanapers of gold, ewers, eight pair of paternosters, and tablets of gold — sixteen or eighteen pieces great and small; the children of the Duke of Gloucester six hanapers of burnished gold; and other donors gave two great basins of gold, and many of silver.

At Dover, on entering the castle, the Queen re-

ceived a crown of gold, and other valuables, presented by the ladies she met there. At Canterbury the King presented her with another gold crown, very richly set with precious stones and pearls. At Eltham he presented her with a tassel composed of large pearls, and a necklace of diamonds and large pearls. The Duke of Albemarle gave her another necklace shaped like broom-pods, set with pearls and rubies. He had also presented her at Dover with a salt-cellar, shaped like a stag. At Eltham the Duke of Lancaster sent her a gold hanaper and cover, and a ewer, set with precious stones, and the Duchess gave another hanaper and cover. The Earl of Derby presented her with a *levrier* of gold, with a large ruby and pearls to suspend on the neck. The Earl-Marshal gave a mirror of gold, garnished with precious stones and pearls, and a girdle of Grecian gold and pearl, the bosses of pearls and other gems. The Earl of Rutland gave a gold mirror in the shape of a daisy (*à façon de une Marguerite*). The King presented her with a most beautiful girdle of gold, with gold buttons, with six eagles enriched with precious stones and pearls. He also gave a circlet of gold with two diamonds, four large pearls, a little diamond and a ruby. The Queen had a hat of large pearls, shaped like roses, with pendant gold buttons. The King presented her with a stag having six large pearls, and a sapphire. The Duke of Lancaster gave a beautiful gold clasp, when presenting the spice. The Earl-Marshal a gold hanaper and ewer. On entering London the Queen received from the Dukes, Earls, and

Prelates rich gifts in golden hanapers, ewers, tablets; in diamonds, sapphires, and other valuables. The Duke and Duchess of Lancaster made another costly offering of great golden cups and ewers.

The King gave a head-dress of pearls, the Bishop of Exeter a frontlet of rubies and large pearls, valued at more than four thousand francs; at Coventry the King gave a tablet of gold, enriched with pearls and precious stones; at Titchfield a very rich goblet of Venetian workmanship; at London the Queen received a circlet of gold, set with precious stones and pearls, that cost twelve thousand francs, and the King gave her a very rich crown, encircled with diamonds, rubies and pearls. The Duke of Brittany gave a very rich clasp, with a large ruby and pearls. The Earl of Rutland gave her at Titchfield *une heures les essellez* of gold, covered with diamonds, precious stones and pearls. The Duke of York a clasp with a large diamond and other gems. The Bishop of Chichester at Eltham presented a silver image of the Virgin; the Earl of Huntingdon a gold bracelet and c her jewels; and the Lady de Moulins another rich bracelet. The Duchess of Norfolk sent numerous valuables, gold hanapers, ewers and large tablets; and the principal English cities many rich gifts. The Earl de la Marche presented golden hanapers and ewers; and all the great barons, ladies and prelates appear to have been equally liberal. The King also provided her with costly vestments, and chapel furniture. On a visit to Fulham she received a gold cup and ewer; at Bermondsey and other places the same—

indeed, wherever she went costly gifts in plate and jewels awaited her acceptance.[87]

Notwithstanding all the clamour raised against Richard for alleged extravagance, he left behind him at his death an amount of wealth which had never been seen in the royal treasury at the demise of any of his predecessors. Fabian states that his successor "found great riches that before time to King Richard belonged, for as witnesseth Polychronicon, he found in King Richard's treasury three hundred thousand pounds of red coin, besides jewels and other rich vessels, which were as much in value or more; and over that he espied, in the keeping of the treasurer's hands, a hundred and fifty thousand nobles, and jewels and other stuff, that countervailed the said value. And so it should seem that King Richard was rich, when his money and jewels amounted to seven hundred thousand pounds."[88]

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the literary taste of the Court was evidently on the increase, and the possession of books in MS. became more general; among them those written in English grew into increased favour; all were however articles of considerable value, and as such were mentioned in wills as special bequests to near and dear relatives. Alice Lady West, in the year 1395, left to Joan, the wife of her son, all her books of Latin, English and French,[89] apparently a respectable library, which was quite as much prized as the literary possessions of

[87] "Hystoire de la Traison et Mort du Roy Richart," 108.
[88] "Chronicles," 569.
[89] "Testamenta Vetusta," 137.

Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford, who preserved so carefully at his bed's head his

"Twenty books clothed in black and red."

Books in the fifteenth century began to be considered by the Court as necessaries, rather than luxuries, and appear more frequently in testamentary bequests, and family memoranda. There is a catalogue of the library possessed by a member of the Paston family, which shows the appreciation of literature by persons of wealth and station. In a will bearing date 1420, the wife of William Bowers leaves to Matilda, the daughter of Baron Hilton, a copy of the Gospels, and a Romance Book — to Dame Elinore de Wessyngton, a book ornamented with knots, (true-lovers' knots), to Elizabeth, daughter of Whilchester, the Romance of Sir Tristran; and to her own daughter Elizabeth, a black primer; seven years later Elizabeth, the widow of Henry, third Baron Fitzhugh, Henry the Fifth's Lord Chamberlain, wills that her son Robert, Bishop of London, should have her Psalter, covered with red velvet; that her daughter-in-law, Margery, married to her eldest son, should have a Primer covered with red; her daughter, Eleanor, married to William Baron D'Arcy, should have a Psalter covered with blue; and her daughter, Maud, married to Sir William Eure, should have a Primer also, covered with blue.[90]

In the fourteenth century, no accomplishment was more generally cultivated than music, both vocal and

[90] Extracts from other wills are quoted in Parker's "Domestic Architecture in England, from Richard II. to Henry VII." 140.

instrumental. At Court, excellence in singing or in playing one or more instruments, often both, was regarded in each sex as necessary to their position. Princesses, peeresses, and ladies of less degree, were expected to sing both church and lay music, and a book of the choral service of the church, with the notes marked, was sure to be found among their most prized possessions. Kings, princes, barons, knights, esquires and pages, quite as zealously cultivated a musical taste. The instruments in most request were the harp, rote or lyre of seven strings, gittern, ribible or fiddle, flute, psaltry, and dulcimer, horn, trumpet, hautboy, sackbut, shawm, organ, pipe, and tabor, bagpipe and drum, some by amateurs, the remainder by professional minstrels; the hautboy players were usually denominated waits, and were the precursors of Christmas night musicians.

The carriages used by the Queen and her ladies were in this reign articles of taste as well as of luxury, and were constructed at considerable cost. The manufacturer was Rouger Rouland, who was paid by Richard the enormous sum of 400*l.* for making a chariot for his child queen[91]—it must have been a rare example of painting, gilding, carving, and sumptuous lining to have been worth such a price. Isabella appears to have given a good deal of employment to the royal coachmaker, for in the succeeding reign a payment was made from the Exchequer for "repairs and amendments of divers chariots, whirls, and wheels."[92] Probably

[91] Issue Roll Exchequer, Easter, 20 Richard II.

[92] Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry IV.

some of these vehicles were for the conveyance of her wardrobe, for which there was a purveyor, who, in the reign of "good Queen Anne," had received forty shillings yearly.[93]

When the King was in France, Froissart declares that, besides thirty falconers on horseback, with their hawks, he had with him sixty couple of hounds, and as many greyhounds; he was also provided with small boats, made of boiled leather, so that every day he could enjoy the sport either of hunting, hawking, or fishing. At Shene he could indulge in the same gratifications; the Thames provided the finest fish in abundance, along the bank of which he could go "a rivering," as the romancists term hawking, after many varieties of aquatic fowl; and the neighbouring wood and fields abounded with game of every description.

The furniture of the Royal Manor-house was a strange mixture of simplicity and luxury. Richard was partial to splendid furniture in his bed-chamber. In a letter written in the year 1381, he refers to a bed of cloth of gold, and a canopy (coopertorium) with *celure* and *tester* (ceiling and vallance) of the same material, and three curtains of red tartarian.[94] In the hall and kitchen, the tables, benches, and stools remained of the rudest construction; the pottery consisted of large

[93] Cottonian Charters in British Museum, xi., 71. Parker's "Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard II.," 143.

[94] Unum lecto de panno aureo . . . . unum coopertorium cum celura integra et testerio de eadem sector ac tribus curtinis de rubeo tartarean.—*Ducange. Glos.*

jugs and jars of coarse material, and ungainly shape; glass vessels of every kind were very rare; and the culinary utensils were of iron, pewter, brass, and wood. The bed-chambers, which were often used as sitting-rooms, contained carved chests, tables, perhaps a reading-desk, and a few chairs, in which there was some display of refinement; but taste seemed to be directed to the decoration of the person, or the furniture of the table and couch, and the hangings and paintings that adorned the principal chambers.

In the romance, known as "The Squire of Low Degree," the materials of a royal feast at this period are thus enumerated, beginning with the solids, served by the King's attendant, who

> "Served the King right royally
> With dainty meats that were dear;
> With partridge, peacock, and plovere,
> With birds in bread y bake
> The teal, the duck, and the drake,
> The cock, the curlew, and the crane,
> With pheasants fair that were no wane;
> Both storks and snytes there were also,
> And venison both of buck and doe."

The liquids were equally various and inviting—of the Greek, French, and Spanish vintages then in fashion, it is stated:—

> "You shall have ramney and malmesyne,
> Both ypocrass and vernage wine;
> Mount Rose and wine of Greek,
> Both Algarde and respice eke,
> Antioch and Bastarde;
> Piment also and Granade,
> Wine of Greek and Muscadel,
> Both Clare, Piment, and Rochelle."

In the ancient cookery-book, known as "The Forme of Cury," which was compiled by the master cook of Richard II. with the assent and advice of the masters of physic and philosophy that dwelt in the Court, there are recipes for the made dishes that were served by the Royal table in the hall at Shene; among them are "Mortrewes"—fowl and pork minced very small, and beaten in a mortar, with crumbs of bread and the yolks of eggs, coloured with saffron, and flavoured with spice and salt.

The full-length portrait of the King, formerly in Westminster Abbey, engraved and coloured in Carter's "Ancient Sculpture," plate 61 (1838), is extremely interesting, either as a memorial of this sovereign, or as one of the earliest historical portraits we possess. There is another cotemporary painting in two tablets, in the collection of Lord Pembroke, in which Richard is represented kneeling before a Virgin and Infant Jesus, attended by angels, and includes the figures of John the Baptist, and the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns Edmund and Edward the Confessor. It has been engraved by Hollar. There are several illuminated MSS. in which he is represented. One given by Montfauçon, "Monarchie Françoise," from a Froissart, then in the *Bibliotheque Royale;* another, a superb folio of the same chronicler in the British Museum, No. 4380 of the Harleian MSS., represents him on a throne attended by his uncles. In the same collection, No. 1319, is the metrical chronicle, in which he is portrayed eight times under different circumstances.

CHAPTER VII.

The Manor-house restored by Henry V.—His Religious Foundations at Shene—Visit of Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, and of William of Bavaria—Court Banquet—Costume.

THERE was a conspiracy entered into soon after the accession of Henry IV., in the Christmas of 1398, by the Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and Albemarle, the Earls of Gloucester and Salisbury, Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and others, to seize the person of the King at Windsor, at a tournament and masquerade he had announced for Twelfth-day; and the confederates were to assemble at Kingston on the first day of the new year. According to the French chronicler, ably edited by Mr. Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., the conspirators left Windsor ostensibly to provide themselves with proper armour, horses, and arms for the approaching tournament, but they went

to their several houses to raise men, in readiness to march to the rendezvous at Kingston.

After an inteview with his Duchess and his two daughters, the Duke of Exeter took leave of them, saying, "Adieu, my sweet girls; I commend you to God—pray for me," and arrived at Kingston, with the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury, with eight thousand archers and three hundred men-at-arms, and, after sending a communication to the Duke of Albemarle, they departed on their errand. This missive found their associate at table with his father, the Duke of York, who, as soon as he discovered its object, ordered his horse, and rode at full speed to Windsor to apprize the King. His son, alarmed for himself, lost no time in mounting a swift steed, and took the same destination by a shorter route. He procured an interview with the King, and, having revealed the conspiracy, obtained a pardon before his father arrived. Henry, apprized of his danger, rode to London, where he quickly got together a force sufficient to meet the confederates, after whom he went in search, but awaited reinforcements at Kensington, and subsequently marched to Hounslow.

In the meantime, the confederate lords, finding that the King had left Windsor, acquainted with their plans, marched to Colnbrook, where they were joined by the Earl of Rutland, who pretended that he was heart and soul with them in their designs, though both a spy and a traitor. A skirmish took place at Maidenhead, but Richard's friends made good

their way to Cirencester, where they were attacked by the inhabitants, when the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury were killed; the Duke of Exeter and a few of his friends made their escape; the rest were taken prisoners, and several shortly afterwards executed. The fugitives were not suffered to remain long at large; and Lord Huntingdon, half-brother of the unfortunate Richard, fell into the hands of Joan, widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, then living at Pleshy, who caused him to be put to death in her presence, displaying a vindictive spirit, happily rarely met with among the ladies of the Court.

The outcry that was raised against Richard II. for extravagance, was repeated early against his successor in the first and eighth years of his reign, when remonstrances were addressed to him by his council to enforce moderation in the expenditure of the Royal household.[95] There is no evidence that this availed much to lessen King Henry's love of display. Holding the position of a sovereign, he seemed determined to maintain its state with as much magnificence as either of his immediate predecessors. His family followed his example. It is supposed that Prince Henry, his eldest son, resided at Shene when Prince of Wales, and that about the year 1412 he went thence to Court, according to Holinshed, apparelled in a gown of blue satin, full of holes, with a needle suspended from a silk thread at each hole, which dress has been an enigma to many. The

[95] Privy Council Proceedings, i. 296; Rot. Parl., iii., 579.

explanation, however, is, that Robert Egglesfield, the confessor of Philippa, consort of Edward III., founded, in the year 1340, Queen's College, Oxford, where Prince Henry was receiving his education, and that it had become a custom for the Bursar of that College to present, on the day of the feast of the Circumcision, to every member of his community, a needle and thread, in remembrance of the worthy ecclesiastic, *aiguile fil* being accepted as a punning *souvenir* of his name.[96] To do honour to the founder of this college, the royal student had multiplied his name about his person in the manner described.

Of Chaucer's poetic contemporaries, John Gower, who survived his friend two years, dying in 1402, was the most celebrated. His writings did not possess Chaucer's claims to popularity, and were much less in fashion at Court. His works consist of his "Speculum Meditantis," in French verse; "Vox Clamantis," a Latin poem on the insurrection of the Commons in the reign of Richard II.; and his "Confessio Amantis," in English verse, with occasional Latin elegiacs, forming a series of short tales, such as were considered pleasant reading by educated persons in those days. He wrote also several minor pieces.

As long as Shakspeare is read, the belief will endure that Henry, in his youth, was a Prince given to lawless courses and to improper associates; but there is little historical evidence of this, and there is ample testimony of his attainments, as well as of the high employments

[96] Granger's "Biographical History of England," i., 49.

he was called upon by his father to fill, which, had he been the idle and dissolute youth he has been represented, he must have neglected.[97] That he was fond of literature appears from the interest he took in Lydgate's translation of the siege of Troy.

"He gave me charge this story to translate."

It has also been stated that he encouraged Chaucer. King Henry IV., in the first year of his reign, confirmed the poet's two grants, with an additional one of forty marks. But Chaucer died shortly afterwards, Oct. 25th, 1400, when Prince Henry was but twelve years old.

Henry IV. died in the year 1413, and, amid general acclamation, his heir succeeded to the throne. One of his first acts of sovereignty was to order the body of his unfortunate cousin, Richard II., to be removed from Langley, with every accompaniment of respect, to rest by the side of his beloved Queen in Westminster Abbey—unquestionable evidence of his goodness of heart.

His chief officers were his brothers, John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, Constable of England; Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Steward of England; Humphrey of Lancaster, Chamberlain of England: his uncles, Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor; Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset (Duke of

[97] In the year 1411, he was one of the Lords of the Council who received the King's thanks for their labour and diligence in the service of the state.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii., 649.

Exeter) Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine; Ralph Melville, Earl of Westmoreland, was appointed Warden of the Forests beyond Trent; Edward, Duke of Norfolk, Constable of the Tower; Thomas Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundel, became Treasurer, Sir Henry Fitzhugh, Chamberlain of the Household, Sir Thomas Arpyngton, Steward of the Household; and John Prophet, Keeper of the Privy Seal.[98]

Among the persons excepted from the general pardon granted by Henry V. in the first year of his reign (1413), for being concerned in the alleged conspiracy of Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcastle), we find the name of Robert Shene, Clerk, probably the parish priest of Shene, who may have embraced the opinions of the Lollards.[99] A curious parallel occurred in the month of July, 1549, when Hemingsley, an observant friar of Shene, was burnt at Smithfield, by sentence of a reformed ecclesiastical court; thus the first martyrs of a Catholic and of a Protestant persecution were priests from the same locality.

Thomas de Elmham, in the thirteenth chapter of his Life of Henry V., mentions this Prince building the Manor-house of Shene. He describes it as a delightful mansion, of skilful and costly architecture, and becoming to the royal dignity. The sense of the text is, that the King restored the old structure, probably with improvements—not that he raised a new edifice from its foundations.

From the death of Queen Anne to the accession of

[98] Goodwin—"Reign of Henry V.," 348. [99] Ibid.

Henry V. is less than twenty years—an interval of time insufficient to create very extensive injury in a royal mansion. We have already shown that it was not left to fall into ruin, even in this interval, and we feel confident that Henry satisfied himself with the necessary additions and embellishments which he may have fancied the building required. The author of the Latin Chronicle, edited for the English Historical Society by Mr. Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., after referring to it as a ruin, intimates that Henry restored the palace to its pristine magnificence.[1] He was a French priest, who accompanied the King of England as military chaplain in his invasion of France, and wrote his MS. about the year 1418.

It is singular that those writers who have devoted their attention to relating the life of this sovereign, have scarcely given any notice of his favourite residence. Goodwin merely says, "He re-edify'd his royal manor, which was then called Shene, and now Richmond."[2] The Rev. Mr. Tyler, in his life of Henry of Monmouth, does not refer to the subject; and Mr. Benjamin Williams, in his excellent edition of a collection of Chronicles, published for the English Historical Society, is equally silent. Yet Henry must have expended considerable sums, and employed the

[1] Circa manerium suum de Shene, quod olim a tempore obitûs Reginæ annæ, ad solum usque prostratrum proposuit melius sumptuosius et longè magnificentius quam in statum pristinum revocare."—*Henrici Quinti Regis Angliæ Gesta Capitulam Secundum.*

[2] "History of the Reign of King Henry V.," 340.

most skilful artificers upon the works. Nor has either of his biographers, except the first, done justice to the King's religious foundations in its vicinity. They were established in the year 1414. One, across the river on the Middlesex shore, was an abbey of the order of St. Bridget, its first settlement in England. It was to consist of sixty nuns, including the abbess, and five-and-twenty friars, thirteen to be priests, one of them the father confessor, four deacons, and eight lay brothers, whose duty it was daily to pray during the King's existence for his life and health, and after his death for his soul, also for the souls of his relations. It was endowed with lands in the royal manor of Isleworth, and with a pension of a thousand marks. The men and women had separate convents, with one chapel in common —the nuns above and the monks below.[3] They wore woollen robes, and were not allowed to touch money; and when the community had obtained sufficient funds for its maintenance, it was not permitted to receive more; for an account of income was to be given every All Saint's Day, and the surplus distributed to the poor.

The King also caused to be built and endowed a monastery for forty Carthusian friars, dedicated to Jesus of Bethlehem, having land 3125 feet in length, and 305 feet in breadth. The foundation possessed a hermitage, endowed with a pension of twenty marks,[4] and with several

[3] Walsingham, 387.

[4] Monast. Angli. vi., 29. Hermits existed in London as well as in the environs, and bequests for them may be found in cotemporary wills.

alien priories. He added a royal sewer called Petersamwere in the Thames, and the fishing belonging to the Manor of Shene; and not only set the monks free from all imposts and services, but conferred on their fraternity the privilege of having all the goods of their servants that might be forfeited for felony, the profit of wrecks, waifs, and strays, and the power of keeping a Court Leet, as well as of erecting a gallows and stocks for the punishment of offenders.[5] Two letters from the King, dated Mortlake, 29th of March, 1414, to the Bishop of Winchester, his Chancellor, and of the 17th of the same month, are extant, containing the King's instructions with respect to this edifice.[6]

A third religious house was at the same time founded at Shene for Celestine monks—their first settlement in England, who were to be strict observers of the rule of St. Benedict. The King and some of his friends used to pay visits of inspection to these monasteries; and finding subsequently that the last—a fraternity composed exclusively of Frenchmen—neglected to pray for him, he expostulated with the prior, who excused his brethren because the King made war upon their country. Henry lost no time in sending them

[5] Dugdale's "Monast. Angli." i. 974.

[6] Letters Missivo Henry V., Tower of London. Quoted by W. B. Williams. "Henrici Quinti Regis Angliæ." Note. "Que vous faciez faire nos lettres patentes pour notre maison de Bethlehem, que tielz masons labourers et ouvreurs avec un batel pourrent attendre et demourer sur lour overai que illocques, selon ce que un prestre, assorteur de cestes, vous donnera plein enformacion de nostre part," &c.

about their business, and devoted the revenues to another purpose.[7]

"After this noble Prince," reports Fabian, "had thus founded these said three houses, and endowed them with competent lands, he of a ghostly disposition, with a secret company for to visit them, and to see how they kept their divine service, would divers times go from his Manor-house of Shene, now called Richmount, unto the said three places, for the causes above said; at which times and seasons he ever found the two houses of monks and nuns occupied as their statutes required. But the third house, which was of French friars, he found sundry times negligent and slack in doing of their duty. Wherefore he called before him the father, with some others of the place, and reasoned with them sharply, why none otherwise they attended their divine service, and prayed more specially for him, as they were bound of duty. Whereunto it was, after pardon required, lastly by the said father answered, that in convenient wise they might naturally not pray for him and his God speed, considering that he daily warred upon their fathers and kinsmen, and slew of them and spoiled them daily, and impoverished the land which they of very kind ought to love and pray for. After which answer thus by them made, the King avoided the house of them, and turned the land thereof to such use as he best liked, and suffered the house to fall to ruin.[8]

[7] Fabian, 406.

[8] "Chronicles," 589.

Shakspeare, who had carefully perused the annals of his country, before he wrote his historical plays, makes Henry V. exclaim, on the eve of the great battle which placed France at his feet—

> "Five hundred poor have I in yearly pay,
> Who twice a day their withered hands hold up
> Toward heaven to pardon blood; and I have built
> Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
> Still sing for Richard's soul."[9]

There can be little question that the great dramatist visited Richmond, and learnt on the spot the tradition still preserved relating to the residence of Richard II. and of Henry V.

Two phases are apparent in the character of Henry V.—that on the first view seem antagonistic—the heroic and the persecuting. The influence of religion over his mind must have been very great, and the extent to which this was taken advantage of may be seen in the privileges the King conferred on the three communities he established at Shene—to one, at least, was given the right to be judge, jury, and executioner, in matters affecting their own property. Our impression is, that he left church matters to church government, and was not aware of the extent to which his confidence was abused by his counsellers.

Though the character of this monarch, to be found in Shakspeare, is as brightly coloured as a contemporary illumination, we have reason to believe that it is but little exaggerated.

[9] Henry V.

"Hear him but reason in divinity,
And, all admiring, with an inward wish
You would desire, the King were made a prelate;
Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,
You'd say—it hath been all in all his study:
List his discourse of war, and you shall hear
A fearful battle rendered you in music:
Turn him to any cause of policy,
The Gordian knot of it he will unloose
Familiar as his garter: that, when he speaks,
The air, a chartered libertine, is still,
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
To steal his sweet and honeyed sentences;
So that the art and practick part of life
Must be the mistress to this theorick."

Robert Redmayne [10] wrote, in the following century, a chronicle of part of the King's reign, in which he mentions the King's intellectual qualifications in high terms. The author of a rhyming chronicle,[11] who appears to have been one of the King's chaplains—dwells on the perfections of his character equally with those of his person, of which he gives a most attractive portrait; while Thomas de Elmham, who, like the chaplain, was a Benedictine monk, another rhyming historian, in a life of the same monarch,[12] represents him as a religious

[10] "Henrici Quinti, Illustrissimi Anglorum Regis, Historia." Gale MSS. Library, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[11] "Versus Rhythmici de Henrico Quinto." Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, B. I.

[12] "Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto." Two copies of this work are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and five in the British Museum. These three lives of Henry V. have lately been printed in one volume, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, with the advantage of the able editorship of Mr. Charles Augustus Cole, of the Record-office.

enthusiast. Thomas de Elmham also wrote a prose narrative on the same subject." [13] Another biography was written by another royal chaplain,[14] from which De Elmham obtained the information contained in his "Liber Metricus;" while the chronicle writer, known as Titus Livius,[15] took his materials from De Elmham. The personal recollections of the Westminster monk are more trustworthy than the religious speculations of his reverend brother of Canterbury; and we therefore draw upon the former for a portrait of the hero as he appeared at Shene, when he gained the chaplain's cordial commendation for the respectful attention he gave the service of the mass, in the Royal chapel.

He had a round head, signifying a man of wise counsel, the most precious blessing of man, and greatest recommendation of a sovereign—a broad forehead, that denoted the soundness of his understanding. His brown hair was smooth and thick, his nose straight, his face oblong, his complexion florid, commanding affection and reverence. His eyes were bright, brown, and large, dove-like in expression, except when angry, when they were as a lion in fierceness. His teeth were even and white; his ears small and graceful. His chin was double, his neck full, and his skin fair. His cheeks were rosy, and his lips vermillion. His limbs

[13] Printed by Thomas Hearne. "Thomæ de Elmham Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis. Oxonii," 1727, 8vo.

[14] Printed for the English Historical Society, in 1850. "Henrici Quinti Angliæ Regis Gesta."

[15] Published by Hearne. "Titi Livii Foro-Juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti Regis Angliæ, Oxonii," 1716, 8vo.

were well shaped, with bone and muscle knit together, without the slightest imperfection.

In some verses by Lydgate he is thus described, as succeeding to the English crown, after Henry IV.:—

> "After him reigned his son, then
> The Fifth Harry, truly a gracious man!
> At his beginning verament,
> He seried (banished) Lollards, and they were shent
> After he made religious at Shene, then, [confounded,]
> Sion, Jerusalem, and eke Bethlehem."[16]

Illustrious visitors from distant kingdoms not unfrequently were guests of the King of England. In the Christmas of 1400, the attraction of a tournament at Eltham Palace brought, among other foreigners, Manuel Palœologus. During the stay of the Greek Emperor he may have extended his excursions to Shene. In the year 1406, King Henry IV. was at Kingston, arranging the marriage of his second daughter, Philippa, with Eric, King of Sweden—his eldest, Blanche, having previously married Duke Louis of Bavaria;[17] and so great a number of foreigners swelled the retinue of his consort, Queen Joanna, that they excited dissatisfaction throughout the country. They were finally sent away. The unpopularity of this Queen led, in after years, to a charge of witchcraft, a deprivation of her property, and a confinement in the Tower.

The Emperor Sigismund of Germany paid a visit to

[16] MS. Cottonian Julius, E. iv. f. 7 b.

[17] Interesting memoirs of these Royal ladies are included in Mrs. Everett Green's valuable "Lives of the Princesses," vol. iii.

the Court of Henry V. in the year 1416. The Earl of Warwick, when at Constance, had greatly distinguished himself at a tournament, and, in admiration of his skill, the Empress took one of his armorial badges from his shoulder, and fastened it on her own. She subsequently accepted from the English knight a similar decoration, enriched with pearls and other precious stones. The Emperor gave him his sword to bear, and offered him the heart of St. George, but was persuaded to be himself the bearer of this relic to the King of England.[18]

He was brother of Anne, Richard II.'s first queen, and came to forward a peace between the Kings of France and England. He, with a retinue of a thousand German, Italian, and Polish nobles and knights, was met at Calais by the Earl of Warwick with such distinction that the Earl afterwards was known by the title of "the father of courtesy." At Dover similar honours awaited the imperial visitor from the Governor of the Castle, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother. John Duke of Bedford met him at Rochester, Thomas Duke of Clarence at Dartford, and at Blackheath the Emperor was attended by a grand procession to the Royal palace at Westminster. Some of the highest state dignitaries were associated with the King's brothers in honourable attendance upon him, and Sir Walter Hungerford was appointed governor of his household. During the period of his stay he received the Order of the Garter, at a

[18] Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire," 326.

chapter held expressly at Windsor, where the relic he brought with him was preserved till the reign of Henry VIII. Henry V., in return, gave presents of great value to his Imperial guest, as well as to the nobles and knights in his numerous suite; and the Emperor acknowledged the liberality with which he had been treated by donations of a thousand crowns, to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Sir John Tiptoft, and other distinguished knights by whom he had been attended.[19]

William of Bavaria, sovereign of Holland, Hainault and Zealand, arrived about the same time (May 1416), and was lodged in the palace of the Bishop of Ely in Holborn; he remained in England three weeks. His daughter, Jacqueline, shortly afterwards married Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a dispensation having previously been obtained from the Pope to enable her to get rid of her second husband, the Duke of Brabant. The number of foreign noblemen now in England caused extraordinary efforts to be made for their entertainment, and large hunting and hawking parties at Shene, Windsor, and other royal palaces within a convenient distance from London, were of frequent occurence. Some additional expenses were also incurred in the royal household; that important personage of the Court, the king's fool, received a new gown and tabard; and sixteen of the king's minstrels were provided with new gowns.[20]

[19] Speed's "Chronicle," 786.

[20] Rymeri Fœdera, ix., 335.

A banquet given in honour of the coronation of Henry V.'s newly-wedded consort,[21] brought all the Court from Shene. The account of this stately feast, given by Fabian, is a picture of Court life that cannot fail to interest the reader. Queen Katherine was conveyed to the great hall in Westminster, and there set to dinner; upon her right hand, at the end of the table, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry surnamed the rich cardinal of Winchester; and upon her left hand the King of Scotland in his royal robes; near the end sat the Duchess of York, and the Countess of Huntingdon; the Earl of March, holding a sceptre, knelt upon her right side, and the Earl-Marshal upon her left; his Countess sat at the Queen's left foot, under the table, and the Countess of Kent at her right foot. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was overlooker, and stood before the Queen bareheaded; Sir Richard Nevill was carver, the Earl of Suffolk's brother cupbearer, Sir John Steward sewar, Lord Clifford panterer, Lord Willoughby butler, Lord Grey de Ruthyn naperer, the Lord Audley almoner, and the Earl of Worcester, Earl-Marshal, rode about the hall during dinner on a charger, with a number of constables to keep order.

The bill of fare consisted of :—*First course*, brawn and mustard, dedells in burneax, frument with balien, pike in erbage, (pike stuffed with herbs), lamprey powdered, trout, codling, fried plaice and marling, crabs, leche lumbard flourished, and tarts. Then came a

[21] The Princess Katherine, youngest daughter of Charles VI., King of France. The marriage took place Jan. 3, 1420.

subtlety representing a pelican sitting on her nest with her young, and an image of St. Katherine bearing a book, and disputing with the doctors, bearing a reason (motto) in her right hand, saying, in the French apparently of Stratford-at-the-Bow, "Madame le Royne," and the pelican as an answer,

"Ce est la signe,
Et lu Roy,
Pur tenir ioy.
Et a tout sa gent,
Elle mete sa entent."

Second course, jelly coloured with columbine flowers, white potage, or cream of almonds, bream of the sea, conger, soles, cheven, barbel with roach, fresh salmon, halibut, gurnets, broiled roach, fried smelt, crayfish or lobster, leche damask with the king's word or proverb flourished "*une sanz plus*." Lamprey fresh baked, flampeyn flourished with an escutcheon royal, therein three crowns of gold, planted with flowers de luce, and flowers of camomile wrought of confections. Then a subtlety representing a panther with an image of St. Katherine, having a wheel in one hand, and a roll with a reason in the other, saying,

"La royne ma file,
In ceste ile,
Par bon reson,
Alues renoun."

Third course, dates in composite, cream mottled, carp, turbot, tench, perch, fresh sturgeon with whelks, porpoise roasted, memis fried, crayfish, prawns, eels

roasted with lamprey, a leche called the white leche flourished with hawthorn leaves, and red haws, and a march pane, garnished with figures of angels, having among them an image of St. Katherine holding this reason,

"Il est ecrit,
Pour voir et dit
Per mariage pur,
C'est guerre ne dure."

And lastly, a subtlety representing a tiger looking into a mirror, and a man sitting on horseback fully armed, holding in his arms a tiger's whelp, with this reason, "Par force sanz reson il ay pryse ceste beste," and with his one hand making a countenance of throwing mirrors at the great tiger, the which held this reason,

"Gile de mirror,
Ma fete distour."

The costume of the reign of Henry V. of both sexes exhibits many peculiarities, which distinguished it from that of Edward III., and some important alterations will be found in the armour. The praying effigy of Robert Chamberlain, the king's esquire, figured in the Register Book of St. Alban's abbey, by an able cotemporary artist, Alan Strayler, shows the *camail*, familiar in the armour of Edward III., while the vizor resembles that of Richard II.; a tight fitting *jupon*, with its foliated ornamentation, is worn over the chain mail, a rich girdle is ornamented with a jewelled buckle or brooch in the centre, containing the letter R, plate

armour encasing the legs and arms, long spurs with their large rowels project from the heels, a bascinet with its *panacle* or plume covers the head, a long sword and short dagger are worn at each side, and strong gauntlets on the hands, complete the equipment.

The love of display that characterised the middle and higher classes in the fourteenth century was quite as evident in the fifteenth. Another point of similarity lay in the martial spirit that pervaded both eras; and the court of the conqueror of Agincourt was consequently as stately and chivalrous as that of the conqueror of Crescy and Poictiers. Severe sumptuary laws had been enacted, but extravagance in apparel was more general than ever. The poet's censures were as useless as the laws' enactments; for the satires of Occleve and other contemporary rhymers, on the waste and luxury of the time, appear to have excited little serious attention.

The more remarkable features in the dress of the courtiers were the cap or hood, with its cloth appendage trailing in front nearly to the ground; pendent wide sleeves, often escalloped, and a girdle encircling the hips; close fitting leggings and long pointed-shoes. Of the long beard and flowing locks, in which the gallants of the preceding century had taken such pride, but a vestige was to be seen—the face having been close shaved. The materials of the dress were the richest that could be obtained, and of the brightest colours, powdered with jewels, or covered with embroidery, in elaborate ornaments, fanciful or armorial. The ladies

of the court were distingished by their head-dresses, the enormity of which elicited the severest censures; yet the fashion long outlived the satire. Expensive furs, and an abundance of jewels, were still in favour; but the waist was much shorter, though the robe continued to be worn full and long.

The costume of the fifteenth century is delineated in an illumination of this date,[22] illustrating a French translation of Glanville's "De rerum Naturæ." In the background there is a royal palace, or city, and on the same level the stately figure of a sovereign in his robes, most probably intended for the Deity. In the foreground stand a group, consisting of an old man in cap and gown, his pouch at his side, walking with a stick, and wearing clogs over his short boots—a professor, or other learned person, in long gown and cap, and full sleeves, holding a scroll in one hand—a Baron, with sword by his side, and dagger in his right hand, wearing a cap with a plume, a short sleeveless vest, open in front, over a tunic descending half-way down his legs, the latter covered with close-fitting hose—a youth evidently belonging to the Court, bearing a hawk on one hand, and leading a grey-hound by a cord in the other. His dress is a very short tunic, drawn to his waist in the extreme of the mode, with tight leggings; and a handsome cap sits jauntily on his flowing locks. These personages are intended, by the artist, to be personifications of the elements—earth, water, fire, and air, on which they are made to

[22] British Museum, MS., Reg. 15 E. ii., fol. 60.

stand; but are, in fact, protraits of the trader, philosopher, the soldier, and the gallant.

The value of the gold and silver plate used by Henry V. at the Royal banquets at Shene may be imagined by a knowledge of the fact, that one spice plate was estimated at 702*l.* 5*s.* A very large outlay was also incurred for beds and their furniture; the cost of one, with its arras drapery, carpets of cloth of gold, coverings, and other costly appurtenances, was 139*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*

Armour was not unfrequently devised to companions-in-arms of the testator, as in the will of Edward, Duke of York,[23] who led at Agincourt, and was killed in that great battle. He left to Philip Beauchamp a choice habergeon and sword; to Thomas Beauchamp, his brigandine covered with red velvet, chequered black and white; to John Popham a new brigandine, his bascinet, and his best horn; to Diprant, his little coat of mail, a breast-plate, belly-piece, housings, and *chaperon de fer* (skull-cap). His saddles and harness were to be equally divided among his henchmen. To the King he bequeathed his best sword and dagger. To his wife, Philippa, daughter of John Lord Mohun, his bed of plumes, and leopards, with the apparel, the white and red tapestry with his badges (Garters, fetterlocks, and falcons), his green bed embroidered in circles, and other articles of value.

[23] Like other great military leaders of his time, he evinced his affection for learning, by founding a college, and at enormous expense built and established one at Fotheringay.—*Dugdale's Monast. Angl.*, iii., 162.

The character of the church decorations bestowed by royal (and often by noble) benefactors, may be seen in a document, stating the arrangements entered into, in the third year of Henry VI., to fulfil the conditions of his father's will. Among the articles given were, a heavy cross of silver gilt, hangings for the altar of red velvet, embroidered with gold leaves, an ornament containing the arms of England, enriched with precious stones, three capes of red velvet with gold roses, lions, and lily flowers, two tunics, and one casulam of the same cloth and colour, three ornamented albs, scarfs, and banners, one curtain of red tartaryn, a vesture of green and gold cloth, with gold leaves, and altar hangings of the same, two crimson cloths (*blodei coloris*) with falcons of gold, one of the same with falcons and herons, and three with gold leaves.[24]

Extravagant expenditure, however, was often followed by embarrassments. The King was not only obliged to pawn one of the choicest of his swords, called "The Sword of Spain," as well as other valuable jewels, to Cardinal Beaufort, but borrowed from him large sums of money on the customs of the Port of Southampton. The Cardinal possessed great influence at Court, both in this reign and in that of his successor. Besides his ecclesiastical dignities as Cardinal Legate, and Bishop of Winchester, his relationship to the King, being second son of John of Ghent, and, therefore, the King's uncle, he held the post of Chancellor four times—in the years 1404-14-17, and

[24] Nichols' "Collection of Wills," 415.

24; and his enormous wealth gave him additional power, which increased in the reign of Henry VI. He appeared to be engrossing all that was most coveted in human ambition, but failed in one object, on the possession of which he was daily growing more and more intent—a superiority over death, whose approach our great dramatist makes him regard with the following hopeless appeal:—

> "If thou be'est death, I'll give thee England's treasure,
> Enough to purchase such another island,
> So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain."

He failed to stop the march of the destroyer, and died on the 11th April, 1447, after making a will, the particulars of which show, at least, his care for his soul, in the disposition of the wealth he had accumulated.

As illustrations of the domestic manners of the times, and which also furnish some details of the education of the nobles and demoiselles of the Court, we may refer to the entries in the wardrobe accounts of the father of Henry V. before his vaulting ambition displayed itself. They mention three quires of writing paper, two pairs of paternosters, a little breviary, and seven books of grammar, as well as a payment for mending the broken backs of other volumes, all apparently for the use of the future conqueror of Agincourt, and Royal resident of Shene. The cost of a missal and a Bible bound in red and white leather, and green silk, is also mentioned in the same work; this was pre-

sented to Richard II. Another of the Earl of Derby's sons (Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester) may have shared in the use of these educational volumes—with what profit, the eulogium of Titus Livius sufficiently declares;[25] evidence still more interesting is the library of 129 valuable MSS. he presented to Oxford. Their sisters, Blanche and Philippa, were similarly cared for.

Hunting continued among the most popular of chivalrous entertainments, and there exist in the romances of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries numberless allusions to the ceremonials in use when kings took part in them. We pass over these to come to a treatise written expressly for Henry V., when Prince of Wales, by his father's "Master of the Game," which title it bears. It was founded on an earlier work on the same subject in French, written by William Twici or Twety, who held the post of Grand Huntsman to Edward II. There exists a cotemporary English memoir, in which the author was assisted by John Gifford. "The Master of the Game" contains special directions for holding a hunt in the royal parks or forests. The master and park-keeper or forester having received timely notice of the King's intentions, a warrant is sent to the sheriff of the county where the hunt is to be held, to furnish stabling and kennels for the horses and hounds, and carts to convey the game,

[25] "In literarum et omnium humanarum divinarum que rerum studiis ceteros principes quantum est qui vivant, superautem."—*Vita Henrici Quinti.*

while the subordinates were commanded to erect temporary buildings for the accommodation of the King and his Court. The master of the game then receives instructions to see that the greyhounds are placed where they could be let slip at the proper moment, and to place his men where they could with their horns give the signal intimating what game had been started; certain notes being used to apprize the hunters of the particular beast they were to pursue, as well as others that announced the death of their prey. There were also to be employed a sufficient number of persons to keep the ground free [illegible]n the intrusion of the people who were usually attracted to the spot to see the sport. The King, the Royal family, and the principal courtiers, were provided with separate standings, which were carefully guarded and kept private, and towards these the game was driven. The arrows were let fly, and the hounds uncoupled as soon as the animal came within a convenient distance.[26]

Ladies were often present at these hunting parties, and had stands erected for them, when they shot at the game. This is alluded to in the romance of the "Squire of Low Degree," where the King of Hungary promises his daughter—

> "A leash of greyhounds with you to strike,
> And hart and hind and other like,
> Ye shall be set at such a tryst,
> That hart and hind shall come to your fist."

They often rode on horseback after the stag or boar,

[26] Strutt—"Sports and Pastimes," 18.

in a particular riding dress; and there is an illustration in an illuminated MS. in the Royal Library,[27] showing the lady's mode of riding to have been anything but feminine; nevertheless, other illustrations, and the mention of ladies' saddles and ladies' hunting dresses, prove that such equitation was not general.

Ladies of the Court sometimes went to see the sport in a vehicle, which, though called a *chare* or chariot, was nothing better than a little cart, sometimes open in the centre, at the side, as well as in front, and drawn by one or two horses. The furniture, however, was very handsome. The King of Hungary promises his daughter one of these carriages in the fashionable romance, "The Squire of Low Degree:"—

> "To-morrow ye shall in hunting fare,
> And go, my daughter, in a chair,
> It shall be covered with velvet red,
> And cloth of fine gold all about your head,
> And damask white and azure blue,
> Well draperied with lillies new.
> Your pommels shall be ended with gold,
> Your chains enamelled many a fold,
> Your mantle of rich degree,
> Purple pall and ermine free.
> Jennets of Spain that be so white,
> Trapped to the ground with velvet bright."

Illustrations of these carriages occur in illuminated MSS. In one Emergarde, the wife of the Lord of Roussillon, is represented seated at the centre opening, with her fool in front.[28]

[27] Strutt—"Sports and Pastimes," 12.

[28] Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 16, F. iii. fol. ii.

Henry IV. had appointed Wautier Fitzwautier master of his hart-hounds, and he was confirmed in the office by his son, who followed them in many a good run after the deer at Shene. Hunting was an enjoyment confined to persons of respectable position in society, and no man was permitted to keep a hound for the chase who did not possess lands to the annual value of forty shillings.[29] Hawking was another favourite pursuit with Henry V. and his Court at Shene, and a regular establishment was maintained to secure the best birds for his use.

The saddles and other horse trappings for equestrians of rank of both sexes were ornamented with extraordinary richness. This is referred to in many of the metrical romances, especially in "Sir Launfal," where the Lady Triamour goes on a visit to the Court of King Arthur with these articles of luxury, gemmed and embroidered at a prodigious cost :—

"Her sadell was semyly set,
The sambas[30] was green velvet,
Ipaynted with ymagerye :
The bordure was of bells,
Of rich gold and nothyng elles,
That any man might espye.

In the arsouns[31] before and behind
Were twey stones of Ynde,
Gay for the maystrye ;
The paytrelle[32] of her palfraye
Was worth an erldom, stout and gay,
The best in Lombardye."

[29] Rot. Parl., iv., 121.

[30] Saddle-cloth. [31] Pommel. [32] Breastplate.

Among the most distinguished courtiers in the habit of assembling in the King's Manor-house at Shene was Richard de Beauchamp, K.G., fifth earl. His father had been governor of Richard II., who had stood sponsor for his eldest son; but having joined with the King's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, against the Royal authority, and to overawe the parliament, he was condemned to death, and his estates confiscated: his sentence was commuted first to banishment to the Isle of Man, and afterwards to imprisonment in the Tower, where he remained till the revolution was effected that placed Henry, Duke of Lancaster, on the throne, when he was liberated, and returned to his honours and possessions. At Henry IV.'s coronation, Richard was made a Knight of the Bath, and succeeded his father, Thomas de Beauchamp, who died in the year 1400, in the earldom. He became one of the most accomplished knights and esteemed military commanders living in England in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. In the ninth year of the reign of Henry IV. he proceeded on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and on his travels, while passing through France and Italy, greatly distinguished himself at various tournaments. He was also feasted and treated with special marks of honour by a Saracen nobleman at Jerusalem, who had heard of his ancestor, the renowned Sir Guy of Warwick. On returning to England, he entered the service of the Prince of Wales, at whose coronation he was appointed High Steward of England. In the campaigns in France he much in-

creased his military reputation, and proved himself one of the bravest knights in the King's service; and having also served his Royal master with judgment and fidelity in various embassies entrusted to his management, was, at the decease of his illustrious sovereign, appointed by his will governor of his son, Henry VI. On the death of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, he was named Lieutenant-General of the whole realm of France, and was created Earl of Albemarle for life, 1417. He died while Governor of the English possessions in France in the castle of Rouen, April 30, 1439.

Thomas Fitz-Alan, K.G., eleventh Earl of Arundel, was appointed Lord Treasurer of England, Constable of Dover Castle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He married Beatrice, a natural daughter of John King of Portugal, the ceremony being performed in London with great magnificence, in the presence of the King and Queen. He died without issue in 1415. A very celebrated commander at this period was Henry, third Baron Fitz-Hugh, K.G., whom Henry V. appointed Constable of England at his coronation, and subsequently Lord Chamberlain of the household. He was a great traveller as well as a great commander—visited the Holy Land and Egypt, and fought with equal success against the French and Saracens. Nevertheless, he survived till the year 1424.[33] Promi-

[33] His grandson, Henry, fifth baron, also made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was equally celebrated as a diplomatist and as a general. He was employed in both capacities by Edward IV., and died in 1472.

nent among the worthies of the Court was that gallant Sir John Cornwall, who won the heart of the King's sister Elizabeth, by the skill he displayed in overcoming a French knight at a tournament held at York. He was subsequently one of the heroes of Agincourt, and was selected as the custodian of Charles, Duke of Orleans, when that Prince came a prisoner to England. For his many noble qualities he was created, 17 July, 1433, Baron Fanhope, and on the 30th of January 1342, Baron Milbroke. He died the following year.

Thomas, seventh Baron de Ros, was appointed Lord Treasurer of England and member of the Privy Council by Henry IV. He possessed so numerous a household, and had so much business of the Court to transact, it was deemed advisable that he should permanently reside near the royal palaces; therefore, the town of Chingilford, in Essex, was assigned him for the accommodation of his servants and horses. He laid a complaint before the King against one of the justices of the King's Bench for obstructing his tenants in their rights, and waylaying him with five hundred men; Tyrrwhit pleading guilty, and asked the King's pardon. The case was submitted to Chief Justice Gasgoyne, who directed that the Justice, with all his followers, should meet the Lord Treasurer, with all his retainers, on the common the right to which was the subject of dispute, the first bringing with them two tuns of Gascony wine, two fat oxen, and twelve fat sheep; and that Tyrrwhit should make an apology

to Lord de Ros, proffering a compensation of five hundred marks, to which the Baron was to reply—"At reverence of the King, who hath showed himself to be a good and righteous lord, I will take nothing but the oxen and sheep, for the dinner of those here collected." The parties were immediately made the best of friends, and sat together to a banquet, in which the wine and meat were promptly disposed of.

The furniture of the bedchamber of people of rank continued to be an object of the first consideration. The richness of the hangings was not more thought of than the quality of the couch. Chaucer has left a luxurious description of a lover's resting-place.

"Of down of pure doves white,
I will give him a feather bed,
Rayed with gold and right well clad,
In fine black satin *d'outre mere.*
And many a pillow, and every bere
Of cloth of Rennes to sleep on soft,
Him there not to turn oft."

More attractive accommodation of the same nature may be found in the popular romance, "The Squire of Low Degree." This, however, is designed for a Court lady.

"Your blankets shall be of fustian,
Your sheets shall be of cloth of Rennes,
Your head-sheet shall be of pery pight,[34]
With diamonds set and rubies bright.
When you are laid in bed so soft,
A cage of gold shall hang aloft,

[34] Enriched with pearls.

With long pepper fair burning,
And cloves that be sweet smelling—
Frankincense and olbanum,
That when ye sleep the taste may come."

Queen Katherine, it may be presumed, was lodged in her chamber at Shene after a still more luxurious fashion. In the romance of "Sir Degrevant" is a passage, from which a tolerable correct idea may be obtained of the sumptuousness of her bower :—

"Her bed was of azure,
With tester and celure,
With a bright bordure
Compassed full clean;
And all a story, as it was,
Of Yodyne and Amadus;
Perrye in ilka place,
And poppinjays of green.

The scutcheons of many a knight,
Of gold and Cyprus was in dight;
Broad Bezants and bright,
And true-loves between.
There was at her tester,
The king's own banner;
Was never bed richer
Of empress or queen.

Fair sheets of silk,
Chalk white as the milk,
Quilts poined of that ilk,
Tasseled they were.
Cods of Sentail;
Knobs of crystal;
That were made in Westphale,
With women of lare.

It was a marvellous thing
To see the rydalas hing,
With many a red gold ring,
That him up bare.
The cords that they one ran,
The Duke Betyse him wan;
Maid Mediore him span,
Of mere-maidens' hair."

This poetical description bears a striking similarity to one of the sumptuous beds already described. The border of the canopy or tester, with overhanging celure or ceiling, was embroidered with scenes from the romance of Idoyne and Amadas, divided by pearls and the figures of green parrots; and was further ornamented with armorial bearings in cloth of Cyprus, Byzantine coins, and true lovers' knots, over which the royal banner was suspended. Further ornamentation appeared in peascods figured in oriental silk, with crystal knobs made in Westphalia by women of great skill. Beautiful as all this magnificence seems, more marvellous were the curtains hung upon gold rings, by cords, which the damsel Mediora had spun for a duke, of mermaid's hair. This was, of course, a myth—but such marvels would have been thought appropriate ornaments in the chamber of an island queen, in the age of chivalry and romance.

A curious illustration of the custom of having the royal bedchamber supplied with two beds, which continued to the seventeenth century, may be met with in Chapman's translation of the Odyssey of Homer, book the seventh :—

"The king took rest
In a retired part of the house, where drest
The queen herself a bed, and trundlebed,[35]
And by her lord reposed her reverend head."

Carpets were in use at this period in the principal chambers of the Royal residences, which, though small, were expensive. In the Sloane MS. there is mention of

"Carpets of Spain on floor by side,
That spread shine be for pomp and pride:
The chamber sides right to the door,
He brings with tapets that ben full store."

They were reserved for the dais of the hall, the sitting-room of the King and Queen, and their bed-chamber; in the latter apartment they were of remarkable richness, as we learn from the "Story of Thebes":—

"To a chamber she led him up aloft,
Full well be seen, there is a bed right soft,
Richly abouten apparelled,
With cloth of gold all the floor arailed,
Of the same both in length and breadth."

That is to say, the portion of the chamber railed in, as was customary in Royal bed-rooms, was carpeted with cloth of gold.

The funds that were expected to meet the Royal expenditure were found unequal to the drain upon them. In the account presented to Henry V. at Lambeth,

[35] Trundle or truckle bed, whence truck, was often placed under the larger one, and was sometimes called a running bed, as in an inventory of Sir John Falstolf's, furniture, we find mention made of a running bed with a mattress.—*Archæologia*, xxi.

in the year 1421, by William Kenwolmerth, dean of St. Martin's, London, who held the office of treasurer of England, the available customs and duties amounted to 40,687*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.*; and the entire revenue of the Crown did not exceed 55,754*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*, a sum quite inadequate to defray his ordinary expenses, of which his household alone cost 20,000*l.* We learn from the same account that many of the debts of Henry IV., as well as his own, contracted when he was Prince of Wales, still remained unpaid, and that there were great arrears in the usual salaries and pensions. This accounts for the King's transactions in pawning with the rich cardinal, before his last campaign in France, where he died, August 31, 1422.

The King, if he was a great spender, was also a great reader—so great, that the royal library did not satisfy his wants. In the year 1424 the Countess of Westmoreland presented to the privy council a petition, which stated that the late King had borrowed of her a MS. volume containing the Chronicles of Jerusalem, and the expedition of Godfrey of Boulogne; and asking for its restoration. Another petition was presented to the same board by John, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, representing that the King had borrowed from his priory the works of St. Gregory, which had not been returned, and praying for the restoration of the MS., which was then in the possession of the prior of Shene, who refused to restore it. In both instances the council issued their directions that the borrowed books should be sent back to their owners.

An interesting memorial of this sovereign is an altar-piece, which Lord Orford states was painted for and placed in the Royal chapel at Shene, by Henry V.'s descendant, Henry VII., representing the former King and his three brothers, with his Queen and four female members of their family, in the foreground, kneeling under two tents, the draperies of which are kept open by an angel; in the middle St. George on horseback is attacking a flying dragon with his sword; while the Princess Cleodelinde is offering up prayers for her knight's success. In the background are two castellated buildings; perhaps one may be an intended representation of the Royal Manor-house, as it existed when the King and Queen made it their residence.[36]

[36] See the engraving and description in "Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, with additional notes by Dullaway and Wornum," 1839, i. 39. This picture was in the Strawberry Hill Collection, whence it was purchased by the Earl of Waldegrave.

CHAPTER VIII.

An Infant King—His Coronation Feast—Henry VI. at Shene—His principal Courtiers—A Knight's Ransom—The King's Household—Dress, Furniture, and Books.

From Fabian we learn a curious incident that occurred when the infant King Henry VI. was removed from Windsor to London, after his father's death. "The 13th day of November (1423), the King, with the Queen, his mother, removed from Windsor towards London, and came that night into Staines; and upon the morrow, being Sunday, when he was borne towards his mother's chare (chariot), he *skyrrled* and cried so fervently that the nurse with her breasts, nor nothing else that the Queen could devise, might content him. Wherefore the Queen, being feared that he had been diseased, returned again to her chamber, where anon he was in good rest and quiet. This, by some writers," the chronicler adds, "is noted for a divine monition that he would not travel upon

the Sunday, but how[ever] it was, the Queen tarried with him there that night, and upon the morrow he was borne to the chare with glad semblance and merry cheer, and so came to Kingston that night, and upon the morrow unto his Manor of Kingston:" Shene, apparently, which was included in Kingston. Here he must have remained till the next day, for "upon Wednesday, the Queen, sitting in her chare, and he upon her lap, passed with great triumph [in a grand procession] through the City, and so unto Westminster, where then was holden his Parliament, and there set in *his kingly Majesty* within the Parliament chamber among all his lords, where the Speaker of the Parliament made to him a famous proposition, whereof the effect was, of the Grace of God had endowed the realm with, for the presence of so toward a Prince and sovereign governor as he was, with many other words of commendation."[37]

His kingly Majesty at this period was about one year and nine months old, therefore could not fail of being greatly edified by the famous proposition of the orator. The scene must have been a curious one, and the astonishing part of it is, how the Royal infant kept from the *skirling* that had stopped his Majesty's journey at Staines. In the following year he was again obliged to travel from Windsor to resume his parliamentary duties, taking Shene in his way. "And when he came at the west door of St. Paul's, the Lord Protector (the Duke of Gloucester) took him out of

[37] "Chronicles," 592.

the chare, and so he was led upon his feet, between the said Lord Protector and the Duke of Exeter, unto the steps going into the choir, from whence he was borne unto the high altar, and there knelt in a traverse provided for him. And when he had been there, he went to the cross at the north door, and there made his offerings. He was then borne unto the churchyard, and there sat upon a fair courser, and so conveyed through Cheap, and the other streets of the City, unto St. George's Bar, and so held his journey to his Manor of Kennington. And continuing the aforesaid Parliament, the King was sundry times conveyed to Westminster, and within the Parliament chamber kept there his royal estate."[38]

In the same year the King was dubbed a knight, and then knighted the Duke of York, during a feast held at Leicester. When nine years old, he was solemnly crowned at St. Peter's Church, Westminster, after which the juvenile monarch, sitting in Royal state, was served with a banquet of four courses, in the following order :—

First.—Frumenty with venison ; viand royal, planted with lozenges of gold ; boar-heads, with castles of gold, enarmed ; beef, with mutton boiled ; capon stewed, cygnet roasted, heron roasted, great pike or luce, a red leche, with lions carved therein ; custard royal, with a leopard of gold sitting thereon, and holding a fleur de lys ; fritters, of sun fashion (star shaped), with a fleur de lys therein.

[38] Fabian's "Chronicles," 594.

A subtlety of St. Edward and St. Louis, armed, and upon either his coat armour, holding between them a figure like unto King Henry, standing also in his coat armour, and a scriptural passage from them both, saying, "Behold two perfect knights under one coat armour;" and under the feet of the said saints was written this ballad—

"Holy saints, Edward and Saint Louyce,
Conserve this branch born of your blessed blood,
Live among Christian, most sovereign of price,
Inheritor of the fleur de lys so good:
This sixth Henry to reign and to be wise,
God grant he may to be your mode;
And that he may resemble your knighthood and virtue,
Pray ye heartily unto our Lord Jesu."

Second Course.—Viand blank, barred with gold; jelly, partly written and noted with *Te Deum Laudamus;* pig endoried (ornamented with gold leaf); crane roasted, bittern, conies, chickens, partridges, peacock enhakyll (in his feathers); great bream, a white leche, planted with a red antelope, a crown about his neck, with a chain of gold; flampayne, powdered with leopards, and fleur de lys of gold; a fritter, garnished with a leopard's head, and two ostrich feathers.

A subtlety represented an emperor and a king, arrayed in mantles and garters, like the Emperor Sigismund and Henry V., with a figure like Henry VI. kneeling before them, with another ballad tacked to him.

Third Course.—Quinces in composte, blaund sure (a preparation of almonds), powdered with gilt quatre

foils; venison, egrettes, curlew, cock, and partridge; plover, quails, snipes, great birds, larks, carp, crabs, leche, of three colours; a baked meat, like a shield quartered red and white, set with gilt lozenges, and flower of borage; and a fritter crisped.

A subtlety of Our Lady, sitting with her child in her lap, and she holding a crown in her hands, St. George and St. Dennis kneeling on either side, presenting to her a figure of King Henry, bearing in hand this ballad:—

"O Blessed Lady, Christ's mother dear,
And thou, St. George, that called art her knight,
Holy St. Dennis, O martyr most entire,
The sixth Henry here present in your sight.
Sheddeth of your grace on him your Heavenly light,
His tender youth with virtue doth advance,
Born by descent, and by title of right,
Justly to reign in England and in France."[39]

If it be true, as our great poet declares,

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown,"

such ought to have been peculiarly the case with this Royal child; but there is no evidence that his juvenile majesty's head was in any grave degree affected either by his regal ornaments or responsibilities. Of course he got used to them, learning his lessons of state as a part of his education. We cannot state what portion of his infancy was passed at Shene. It is quite certain that he inhabited the Manor-house in 1441 and 1442; for in the first of these years a warrant is extant, dated from here, addressed by him to the sheriffs of

[39] Fabian's "Chronicles," 599.

the counties through which, it was expected, would pass, in charge of Sir Thomas Stanley,[40] Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester. This lady, the daughter of Reginald Lord Cobham, was the widow of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester,[41] who had been Lieutenant of the realm, or Regent, when Henry VI. was absent from England to take possession of his French territories. The King, also, from hence addressed a mandate to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, for pecuniary assistance towards the relief of Guienne.

We have trustworthy information that he resided here with his Queen, Margaret of Anjou, and caused extensive repairs to be executed in the buildings on the estate, to render them better adapted for a royal residence. Here the King and Queen maintained their Court with great state, till the sanguinary dispute of the two Plantagenet branches caused them to remove to safer quarters.

Among the ornaments of this Court conspicuous was John, the second son of the Duke of Exeter executed in the preceding reign, who was not only restored to his father's honours in the fourth year of this King's reign, but given the command of the men-at-arms and archers employed at sea. He distinguished himself

[40] Chamberlain to the King, Comptroller to the Household, Knight of the Garter, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1432, and created Baron Stanley, 1456. He was one of the most distinguished men of his time; from him the present Earl of Derby is lineally descended.

[41] He was murdered at the instigation of Margaret of Anjou, and his widow suffered from the same implacable spirit.

greatly in the French wars, and performed many important services in Normandy. On his return he was appointed Constable of the Tower. He continued to fill the highest employments, and receive the highest distinctions; was Marshal of England during the minority of John Duke of Norfolk; was Ambassador, and Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, and was created a Knight of the Garter, and Duke of Exeter (6th January, 1445). He died in the following year, leaving one son, Henry,[42] by his first wife, the widow of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, and one daughter, Anne, by his second, Lady Anne, daughter of John Earl of Salisbury.

John Wenlock rose from Usher of the Queen's Chamber to be her Chamberlain. He not only fought on the side of his Royal patroness, but lent the King a large sum of money, for which he was rewarded with the Order of the Garter. Nevertheless, like many of his cotemporaries, he changed sides. Edward IV. appointed him Chief Butler of England; raised him to the dignity of a baron, with the stewardship of the

[42] He was a distinguished partizan in the wars of the Roses; as Duke of Exeter he fought at Barnet for Henry VI. with extraordinary bravery, and was left for dead on the field; but, after this total defeat, he is said by Comines to have been seen running bare-legged after the train of the Duke of Burgundy, earnestly begging for bread. His dead body was picked up at sea in the year 1473, between Calais and Dover. Of this family of heroes by the Fair Maid of Kent, for three generations all the male offspring came to violent ends, but one; of her three sons—the first died by the executioner, the second in battle, her grandson died in bed, and her great-grandson by the executioner.

Royal Castle of Berkhampstead; made him one of the Privy Council, sent him on important embassies to the Courts of France and Burgundy, and appointed him Lieutenant-Governor of Calais. All these rewards were insufficient to keep him faithful to the cause he had adopted; but a blow from the battle-axe of the Duke of Somerset, at the Battle of Tewkesbury, 1471, was his final recompence, for delaying to join King Henry's friends till they had received a complete overthrow. His honours became extinct, Lord Wenlock leaving no issue.

Ralph Lord Cromwell was Treasurer of the King's Exchequer, and is so mentioned in the will of John Duke of Bedford, at whose decease he was appointed Master of the King's Mews and Grand Falconer. He founded a college at Tatshall, Northamptonshire, where he had a castellated residence, which bore a conspicuous ornament in the shape of purses, as a badge of his office. He also commenced building a mansion at Colyweston, in the same county, with the same decorations. He died in the year 1455, and found a fitting sepulchre in the choir of his own college, in the chancel of which his brass remained in the time of Dugdale, though the painted windows had disappeared.[43]

The Sir Thomas Stanley named in a preceding page was a person of much influence at Court; and the important offices he filled in the Royal household must have brought him frequently to Shene. In the King's will he is the last named of a new set of feoffees, to act in

[43] "Baronage," ii., 45.

case the first should die before the performance of its conditions.[44]

John Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, so greatly distinguished himself in the French wars, that he was invested by Henry VI. with the Order of the Garter, and created Duke of Touraine. Subsequently, after his leg had been shattered by a cannon ball, he was taken prisoner by the French, and died at Beauvois, in the year 1434.

Sir Thomas Hoo, K.G., was a celebrated soldier in these troublous times, and for his services was created, 2nd June, 1447, Baron Hoo, in Bedfordshire, and of Hastings, in Sussex. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Felton, by whom he had one son, who died young; secondly, a second Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Wichingham, by whom he had one daughter, Anne, who married Sir Geoffroy Bullen, Lord Mayor of London; thirdly, Alianore, daughter of a Lord Wells, by whom he had Alianore, married to Sir James Carew, of Bedington, Surrey; Jane, married to Sir Roger Copley; and Elizabeth, to Sir John Davenish. Lord Hoo died about 1453, and left no male heir.

The steward of the King's household was Sir Walter Hungerford, K.G., who had been appointed, in the fourth year of Henry V., Admiral of the Fleet under the Duke of Bedford, and performed important military services in France. He was held in much esteem by this king, who granted him several manors, created him

[44] Nichols' "Wills," 311.

Baron of Homet in Normandy, and named him, in his will, one of his executors. At the commencement of the reign of Henry VI., he retained his position in the Royal household, and also became Treasurer of England. His eldest son, Sir Walter, achieved a military distinction in France, where he was taken prisoner, and the father had to pay 3000 marks for his ransom. The young knight afterwards died in Provence. The Baron of Homet was summoned to Parliament as Baron of Hungerford, Leytesbury, and Homet. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Courtenay, he had a son, Sir Robert, who, at his father's death in 1492, succeeded as Baron Hungerford; another son, Edward, and two daughters.

His second wife was Eleanor Countess of Arundel, by whom he left no issue. By his will, dated July 1 of the year in which he died, after several pious bequests to secure sepulture in the cathedral at Salisbury,[45] where his first wife was buried, he bequeathed to her successor all her goods and chattels, and his own silver and gold plate. To his eldest surviving son, his best Dorser of Arras; to this son's wife his best legend of the "Lives of Saints," in a red cover, written in French; to their son, Robert, his best pair of cuirasses that were in the armoury at Farly Hungerford; to his third son, Edmund, a cup and cover of gold, with a sapphire at the top; to his eldest daughter, Eliza-

[45] He had previously made a liberal settlement in favour of the Dean and Canons of Westminster to say masses for him during his life, and after his decease.

beth, a gold cup; to her sister, a bed of black and green silk; to Viscount Beaumont, a silver cup and cover with a gold rim, out of which John Duke of Lancaster, Lord Beaumont's ancestor, had often drunk wine; and to two other grandsons and a granddaughter, seven hundred marks. Sir Robert Baron Hungerford, as well as his eldest son of the same Christian name, by his wife, Margaret, heiress of Lord Botreaux, also served with great gallantry in the French wars in this reign; the first died in the year 1459; and the latter having been taken prisoner, his mother drew most liberally on her resources to effect his enlargement, as may be seen by the following items copied from a curious and interesting document, dated 12th January, 1470, being the will of Margaret, widow of the second Baron Hungerford. They convey a clear idea of the difficulty and expense which many families in England were obliged to endure when the more adventurous members were fighting their sovereign's battles in a foreign land, or took part in the desolating civil wars between the Yorkists and Lancastrians. The Hungerfords sided with Henry VI.:—

	£	s.	d.
In sending Chester Herald into France sundry times by the space of seven years and sixteen weeks to procure his enlargement	140	0	0
In gifts and rewards to those who had part in him	733	6	8
In apparel sent to him, with an ambling horse to please his friends; and for healing his wounds	176	0	0

	£	s.	d.
For meat and drink by the space of seven years and sixteen weeks for himself and his servants before he was put to his finance .	760	0	0
For the like board for himself and his servants after he was put to his finance . .	186	13	4
For his finance over and above all other expenses and costs	6000	0	0
For exchange of money, 8*d.* by the noble for payment of his ransom, being 7690*l.* paid[46]	769	0	0
In gifts to divers noblemen, which were sureties for her upon borrowing of money to pay this ransom, and to quit those lords harmless	945	6	0
Lost in the sale of plate which she sold towards that payment	160	0	0
	9,870	6	0

Glory, as is evident from this document, was sometimes a dear acquisition, as it has often been since. What with eating and drinking, clothes, bribes, the herald's travelling expenses, loans, losses on the sale of her plate, the young Baron cost his mother about £90,000, according to the present value of money. But this sum forms but a portion only of her losses. Her additional disbursements for him are equally worthy of observation. They tell their own story:—

	£	s.	d.
Item, paid for her son's expenses from the time he landed in England until the time he went into Florence, with gifts and rewards to great lords and others, after he escaped out of the tower, and for license to go to Florence	768	13	4

[46] To this ransom his grandmother contributed all her wool of Heytesbury, valued at 100 marks.

	£	s.	d.
Paid for shipping and expenses . . .	255	0	0
Paid for expenses of his wife, children, and servants by the space of seven years and sixteen weeks, with the expenses of Sir Thomas Hungerford, knight, son and heir of her said son, waiting upon the Earl of Warwick in the King's service, after the departing of King Henry, arrayed and accompanied for the war	800	0	0
Paid to her said son's creditors, to whom he was indebted before he went out of England	400	0	0
	2,223	13	4

We should convey but an imperfect portrait of this devoted parent if we omitted other expenses which the troubles of the times brought upon her:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid and spent for the composition of the lands of her late husband, Robert, Lord Hungerford, which had been divers times seized, and given to several great lords .	2160	0	0
In the charge of being under the arrest of the Earl of Wiltshire by the King's command, and to be restored to her lands and goods	400	0	0
In the loss which she sustained when she was put into the Abbey of Ambresbury by the Lord Chancellor of England at the King's command, her movable goods of great value being there burnt—viz., beds of cloth of gold, arras and silk hangings for halls and chambers, plate, money, and other stuff, to the value of 1,000*l.* more, besides repairing the lodgings so burnt	1200	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Item, Whereas Robert, Lord Hungerford, her husband, ordained by his last will to have a chapel for his sepulture, adjoining to our Lady Chapel in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, and two priests there, to be founded, and livelihood amortized thereof, and his and her obit to be kept solemnly in the said church, which chapel she did make accordingly, and removed his body thither into a vault of marble, and made another tomb for herself—all this cost . . .	407	0	0
Item, In ornaments for the said chapel—viz., three pair of candlesticks of silver, whereof one pair gilt, three pair of cruets, one bell of silver, nine pair of altar cloths, nine pair of vestments, mass books, vespers, and other necessaries to the chapel	200	0	0
Item, For license to amortize the manors of Immer and Hommington in the county of Wilts, and the manor of Folke in the county of Dorset, to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, for maintenance of those two priests, and keeping the said obit for ever .	176	13	4
Item, Whereas Walter Lord Hungerford built an almshouse for twelve poor men and one woman, and a house for a schoolmaster, being a priest, as well to teach grammar as to have the rule and oversight of these poor men and woman, of Heytesbury in the county of Wilts; and ordained the manors of Chyverell Burnell and Chyverell Halys, alias Chyverell Magna, should be amortized to the said schoolmaster, poor men, &c., and their successors. This not being performed in his days, she paid the effecting thereof .	200	0	0
Item, In other sums, upon other occasions which she paid, all which computed amounted to 26,180 marks, 6*s.* 8*d.*			

Robert Hungerford, the third Baron, was beheaded for his devotion to Henry VI. in the year 1463; and the like fate overtook his eldest son, Sir Thomas, who had embraced the same cause.[47]

John Holland, Duke of Exeter, who died in the year 1447, after the customary bequests for pious uses, by his will, left to Anne (daughter of John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury) his second wife, his bed of arras, with "the scripture of honour," with all its furniture, together with the property she had brought him, and half of what he leaves undisposed of, as well as a gold cup, with a falcon, and another with a falcon taking a partridge, having a ruby in his breast, twelve bowls of gold, and an almsdish in the form of a ship; to his daughter Anne, by his first wife, married to John Lord Neville, he left the white bed with poppinjays (parrots), with its furniture, the white bed with eagles embroidered, and the little white bed of damask, with their furniture; also his diamonds,

[47] The second son, Walter, survived these dangerous times, and joined the standard of Henry Earl of Richmond at Bosworth. He afterwards was employed by Henry VII. against Perkin Warbeck, and was a member of the Privy Council in the reign of Henry VIII. Lord Hungerford's grandson, Sir Walter Hungerford, by writ of summons, was called to the peerage as Baron Hungerford of Heytesbury by Henry VII., 1536; but this glimpse of royal favour did not last long; for in the 31st year of this reign, 1541, he was beheaded on Tower Hill, with Cromwell Earl of Essex, ostensibly for procuring certain persons to ascertain by conjuration how long the King should live, and for retaining a chaplain who had called the King a heretic. The present Marquis of Hastings is descended from Mary, the heiress of Sir Thomas Hungerford.

sapphires, rubies, and precious stones, an equal division with his wife, twelve bowls of white silver, a cup of gold, with a George enamelled with a button, another having the arms of himself and his first wife, two basins, two ewers, and two gilt salts, with the arms of Montgomery enamelled at the top, and a great basin of silver; to his son, Sir Harry, all that remained of his wardrobe, as well as all his armoury and artillery.[48]

The profusion which had characterized the households of Richard II. and Henry V. had led to so many abuses in that of Henry VI., that in the thirty-third year of this monarch's reign a Council assembled at Westminster for the arrangement of the Royal household, when it was determined that it should be established on the same scale as in the preceding reign. The King was sick at this time, but the Council appear to have had no apprehension of danger. At their head was Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor of England. In 1464, he was made a Cardinal.[49] With him were appointed William Booth, Archbishop of York;[50] Thomas Kemp, Bishop of London;[51] William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester,[52] who was also Lord Chancellor; John Lowe, Bishop of Rochester;[53] Walter Hart, Bishop of Norwich; Robert Nevil, Bishop of Durham; Reginald

[48] Nichols' "Collection of Wills," 282.
[49] He died 30th of March, 1486.
[50] Died Sept. 20th, 1464.
[51] Survived till the reign of Henry VII., May 28, 1489.
[52] Died August 11, 1486.
[53] Died in 1467.

Butler, Bishop of Coventry; John Chadworth, Bishop of Lincoln; and Lord Gray, Lord Treasurer of England, Bishop of Ely; Richard, Duke of York;[54] Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, K.G., known in History as "the King Maker;"[55] Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon;[56] Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham;[57] Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond,[58] first son, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, second son, of Sir Owen Tudor, by Queen Katharine, widow of Henry V.; John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester;[59] Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland; John Lord Clynton, John Lord Stourton, John Bourchier Lord Berners, John Lord Beaumont;[60] Robert Molton, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem; Henry Viscount Bourchier, who was twice Treasurer; Henry Lord Scrope, Sir Thomas Stanley, and Sir John Say. Of the seventeen lay lords of the Council, ten died in their beds, three were beheaded, and four slain in battle.

We learn from the ordinance issued by the Council,[61] that the King's confessor, who was a bishop, was permitted one chaplain, two esquires, one yeoman, and two chamberlains, and that the same retinue was allowed the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke. The Viscount Beaumont had one chaplain, one esquire, and three yeomen. Lord Cromwell, the Chamberlain,

[54] Killed at Wakefield.
[55] Killed at Barnet.
[56] Beheaded.
[57] Killed at Northampton.
[58] Died 1456.
[59] Beheaded at Pontefract.
[60] Slain at Northampton.

[61] Printed by the Society of Antiquaries from MS. in the Cotton. Library, "Ordinances and Regulations."

the same. The two Barons, Beauchamp and St. Amand, one esquire and three yeomen each. The carvers, Sirs Edward Hungerford and Philip Wentworth, one esquire, and two yeomen. The two physicians were allowed two yeomen for the first, and one for the other, and each of the chamberers one. The secretary had two clerks; there were two chaplains, four esquires of the beds, four gentlemen ushers of the chamber, one clerk of the closet, one dean, seven chaplains and clerks, and seven children for the chapel; a chaplain for the household, with a yeoman; a yeoman and groom of the vestiary, three henchmen, twelve equerries of attendance; twenty-one yeomen of the Crown, one of the robes, and one of the armoury; eight yeomen of the chamber, ten grooms of the chamber, and two pages; four minstrels, with nine additional for festivals, and four attendants at the jewel-house. The office of the counting-house comprised an earl as steward, a baron as treasurer, the comptroller as carver, a cofferer, four clerks, as many yeomen, a messenger, groom, and page. There were thirteen persons employed in the bakehouse, eight in the pantry, the same number in the cellar, with three aletakers; six in the pitcher-house, four in the butlery, five in the spicery, four in the confectionary, and five in the chaundry.

The kitchen was still an important institution, of which John Gourney was master cook for the King, and William Hekeling master cook for the hall. There was a clerk, having two under clerks and a yeoman;

with a yeoman, groom, and page for the King's mouth; and four yeomen, four grooms, and two pages for the hall. There were also a yeoman, groom and page, for the seething place, two scourers, six turnspits, and two porters. The laundry employed eleven persons—the catery thirteen, one as sea-fisher—the jewellery eleven, the saucery eight, the hall nine, the ewery eight, the napery two, the poultry eleven, the laundry four. There were, besides, seven porters, three harbingers, three scalders, four almoners, two marshals, two assayers for the hall, and one for the King, one surveyor, and three surgeons. In the stable were an avenor, two clerks, two purveyors, two footmen, one yeoman garnitor, two farriers, one yeomen of horse, and eleven other yeomen and grooms, and two carttakers.

Such was the household of Henry VI., but it evidently does not include many persons generally employed in the Royal establishment. The illness of the King may probably account for such omissions. The Queen's establishment is stated to have comprised 120 persons, that of the Prince thirty-eight.

Ladies' apparel became more extravagant after the reign of Henry V., especially in their head-dresses, which had quite an oriental character, being a turban put into all kinds of fantastical forms—mitres, crescents, and double horns being most conspicuous. The horn fashion was denounced as a special abomination, coming from a certain nameless personage, whose head ornament it had first been, by preachers, and by

poets; and Lydgate, who united the vocations of both, wrote for the ladies a ballad called "A Ditty of Women's Horns," every stanza of which concluded with an earnest appeal to cast away these frightful appendages. A better spirit prevailed in the form of their robes, which, with the exception of being short-waisted, did not differ very much, either in fabric or fashion, from those worn by their mothers and grandmothers. There was a similar richness of material, as great a display of jewellery, with more variety of both.

The dress of the gentlemen was not much behind that of the fair sex in whimsicality, particularly in the roundlet, or covering for the head, with the folds falling to the shoulder on one side, and a long streamer of the same cloth dropping in front nearly to the ground. Another extravagance was the monstrous shape of the sleeves, which were either shaped like a bag-pipe, or were so wide that when the arms were suspended the ends must nearly have reached to the heels. Sometimes Court exquisites were more moderate in the consumption of cloth; but what was lost in quantity was made up in quality, for the edges were sure to be deeply escalloped, and elaborately ornamented. The girdle was worn so low that it nearly encircled the hips; but the tunic ended above the knees; and the shoes were sometimes of reasonable dimensions, but often pointed, or with an upward curve. The hair was cropped, and the face shaved. The resources of Royal costume may be seen to ad-

vantage in a MS. in the Cottonian Collection,[62] which is illustrated by imaginary protraits of the kings of England, from William the Conqueror, all of whom appear to be clothed from the wardrobe of Henry VI.

Among the costly furniture with which Cardinal Beaufort had decorated his episcopal palace, Waltham Abbey, he bequeathed to the King a bed of cloth of gold of Damascus, and to the Queen a set of rich arras of tapestry.[63] To his natural daughter, Joan, the wife of Sir Edwin Stradling, with numerous pieces of plate, he left a bed of albo serico embroidered with roses, with its hangings and cushions.[64] Liberal donations of plate, money, and vestments, and altar furniture, were directed to pious uses, as well as large sums to be expended in charity, and heavy debts were remitted to the King and others. The will of the King, who survived the Cardinal nearly thirty years, is chiefly taken up with arrangements for completing his foundations at Eton and Cambridge. After his murder, as supposed, by the Duke of Gloucester, he was interred in Chertsey Abbey, whence, by the direction of his successful rival, Edward IV., his remains were removed to Windsor, and placed under a proper monument in St. George's Chapel.

An inventory of the plate contained in the buttery of Sir John Fastolf will assist in illustrating the style of living of the members of the Court of England about the middle of the fifteenth century :—

[62] "Julius," E 4.

[63] Second codicil; Nichols' "Collection of Wills," 339.

[64] Ibid., 329; several interesting extracts from Wills may also be seen in the "Monumenta Vetusta" of Sir Harris Nicolas. 1826.

Four small silver chargers, five silver plates, twelve silver dishes of one fashion, eight of a smaller size, eleven saucers of one fashion, four cups, three covered cups enamelled with borage flowers on the knobs, six pieces gilt at the edges, with the "Judgment of Paris" enchased, two silver gilt pots enamelled with violets and daisies, two silver pots enamelled with the Fastolf arms, one silver gilt quarteler with a bough of roses and leaves enchased, two round silver gilt salt-cellars, covered with a wreath encircled by the motto "*Me faunt fere*," two others plain and small, with a double rose engraved with the arms, and a silver gilt basin with a double rose, having the Fastolf arms, helm, and crest enamelled at the bottom.[65]

The cultivation of English literature continued to increase, particularly of English poetry, which, since the death of Chaucer and Gower, had received a large share of the patronage of the Court. Many of the songs of the first of these poets had been set to music, and were as much in favour with the gallants and beauties who flourished at Shene during this reign, as the chansons of French minstrels had been in the previous century. Among the favourite writers of verse was John Lydgate, a monk of the Benedictine fraternity of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, who wrote a life of St. Edmund, and presented it to Henry VI. He composed many short poems,[66] and was an ac-

[65] See, for similar inventories, Parker's "Domestic Architecture, from Richard II. to Henry VII.," 158-9.

[66] Ritson ("Bibliographica Poetica") enumerates 251.

complished scholar in modern languages, being familiar with both French and Italian.

Manuscripts became more and more prized by persons of rank and wealth, and greater elaboration was employed upon them by the scribe and illuminator, to render them more covetable. Indeed, many were not only objects of art, but assisted materially in educating the mind of their possessors to an appreciation of art when employed for other purposes. Prominent among the more important illustrated works of this period was the missal[67] executed for John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. It contains portraits of the Royal family, and of the Court, and delineations of scenes of great historical interest. Sir John Tobin gave a thousand guineas for it, and it has been in the collections of the Duchess of Portland, and the Duke of Marlborough. It now forms one of the most precious treasures in the British Museum.

It began to be perceived that manuscript literature could not keep pace with the demand for books, which had spread from the Court to other classes of the community that possessed a taste for reading, and the means of gratifying it. As for illuminated books, those most richly illustrated could only be procured at the cost of an entire library, and generally occupied many years in producing. A desire to have a greater variety at a less cost was common to all who could read; and the invention of moveable types, with its application in Holland and Germany to the production

[67] Gough's "Account of the Bedford Missal," 1794.

of cheap books, excited much attention. The manufacture of MSS., however, went on, and the illuminators continued to be fully employed. The press was not quite ready, that from its snug corner in Westminster Abbey was to forward to almost every English mansion and homestead the luxury of full shelves, occupied by the intellectual treasures that had become public property since the invention of letters.

CHAPTER IX.

Edward IV. and his Queen—Romantic Incidents at Shene—Anthony Lord Rivers and Caxton—The King in France—His Toilet—Court Manners—Feasting—Court Usages at Meals—The Royal Wardrobe—Officers of the Court.

FABIAN relates that, after the battle of Wakefield, Edward IV. kept Easter at York with great solemnity, thence removed to Durham, and, having visited the southern and eastern counties about the beginning of the month of June (1461), he came to his Manor of Shene, now called Rychemount. During which pastime purveyance was made for his coronation; and, upon the 27th of the month, he left Shene, and rode to the Tower, where he was met by the mayor and his brethren clad in scarlet, and 400 citizens well horsed, and clad in green. He was crowned on the following Sunday. This luxurious monarch, when he had established himself on the throne, and knew he had nothing

to fear from Margaret of Anjou, and her partizans, enjoyed himself thoroughly at Shene. Three years afterwards he was married to Elizabeth Woodville, to whom he granted a life interest in the Shene estate, and the Queen made the palace her principal residence. A brilliant Court assembled here in the spring of 1465, where a scene was enacted worthy of the brightest days of chivalry. Anthony Woodville, the Queen's brother, had married the heiress of Lord Scales, and being generally regarded as one of the most accomplished knights in Christendom, the ladies of the Court selected him for a particular distinction. A tournament to celebrate the Queen's coronation had been proposed, and Sir Anthony Woodville, who assumed the title of Scales in right of his wife, was expected to be the principal of a band of English knights that were to challenge the most renowned knights of other nations. As Sir Anthony was leaving the chapel in Shene with the Queen on the Wednesday before Easter day, he was surrounded by ladies, who presented him with a golden garter, embroidered with S's and forget-me-nots, as a romantic indication that some act of chivalrous devotion was expected from him. One addressing him said, that he ought to take a step fitting for the time. He made no difficulty, but at once understanding what was required, determined to challenge the most celebrated knight in Flanders, the Comte de la Roche, natural son of Philip of Burgundy. From the King's Manor-house he addressed a petition to the King, that, after stating the

project of the intended combat, desired the Royal permission to hold the tournament. This having been granted, he wrote to the Comte de la Roche the particulars of the duty that had devolved upon him, and courteously sent him a challenge, enclosing the articles of combat, with the mystic token he had received, requesting him to touch the flower of Souvenance in token of his acceptance of the cartel.[68] The Count acceded, as a matter of course; but though Charles the Bold sent a hundred select cavaliers to Elizabeth's coronation on the 26th of May, the Comte de la Roche was not amongst them. Subsequently, however, the two contended at a tournament held in London, when Lord Scales vanquished the renowned "Bastard of Burgundy" in single combat.[69]

Caxton says of him, that "notwithstanding the great labours and charges he had in the service of the King, and Prince of Wales, of whom he was governor as well in Wales as in England, which had been to him of no little thought and business, both in spirit and body, as the fruit thereof experimentally showeth, yet that he found time to translate divers books out of French into English. Among others, passed through my hands," says the illustrious printer, "The book of the 'Wise Sayings, or Dictes of Philosophers,' and the 'Wise Wholesome Proverbs of Christian of Pisa, set in

[68] "Excerpta Historica," 186.

[69] Lord Scales became second Earl Rivers, and was the first victim of Richard III. He was beheaded without trial, 1483.—*Dugdale Baronage.*

Metre;' over that he hath made divers ballads against the seven deady sins. Furthermore, he took upon him the translating of this present work, named 'Cordyall,'[70] trusting that both the readers and the hearers thereof should know themselves hereafter the better, and amend their living."

Lord Rivers was Caxton's most liberal patron, and assisted him materially in setting up his printing apparatus, as well as in providing him with works for his press.[71] The latter knew that he should find his best customers among the Court; therefore, the majority of his books were on subjects that would most interest such a class of readers—meditations, histories, poems, romances, legends, chronicles, games, treatises on love, chivalry, health, philosophy, and grammar. "A book for Travellers," printed about 1481; "The Royal Book, or a Book for a King," 1484; and "Le Grand Ja, the Book of Good Manners," 1487, with "The Chronicles of England," and "Description of Britayne," 1480, afforded to the aristocracy a library of entertainment and instruction, of which many gladly availed themselves. Thus the poems of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, first became generally known to English readers of both sexes; and the classics, Virgil, Cicero, Æsop, Cato, and Bœthius, were made much more familiar, through translations. In this stream of black letter

[70] "Les Quatre Dernieres Choses." Printed about the year 1474.

[71] See an account of him in Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors."

flowed intelligence to every house of any pretension in England; and their noble or wealthy proprietors, at an inconsiderable cost, were enabled to commence libraries, the contents of which have now become of inestimable value and rarity.

Philip de Comines had a personal knowledge of the King, and describes him as the handsomest man of his time, but inordinately fond of pleasure. After he had made his escape from England, during the temporary restoration of Henry VI., he thus pourtrays the Royal fugitive:—"He had, for a period of twelve or thirteen years, indulged himself in ease and luxury—of which he had had a larger share than any prince of his time. His thoughts were devoted to the ladies, to field-sports, and dress; when hunting in summer, he had tents set up for the accommodation of the ladies of the Court, whom he treated in a most magnificent manner; in truth, his disposition and person appeared more formed for gallantry than those of any prince I ever saw; he was young, and the handsomest man of his time, at this period (1470), but he afterwards grew very corpulent.[72]

In the spring of the year 1472, the King, the Queen, and the Duke of Gloucester, went to the priory at Shene to obtain five hundred days of pardon, this grace having been offered to all persons who had contributed to the repair of the building, or should visit it while repeating five *Pater Nosters*, and as many *Ave Marias*.

The handsome figure and winning manners of Edward

[72] "Memoires," iii., 5.

IV. did much for him in his greatest need. Comines asserts that when he returned to England in 1471, for the final struggle, he owed much of his success to the influence of the ladies of quality and rich citizens' wives, who forced their male relations to range themselves under his banners.[73]

In the interview that took place between the Kings of France and England in the month of August, 1475, at Picquiny, Edward IV. and his principal courtiers are thus described:—"The King of England advanced very nobly, with a royal air and presence, having in his train his brother the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, his chamberlain called the Lord Hastings, his chancellor, and other barons; among whom there were only four dressed like their sovereign, in cloth of gold. He wore on his head a black velvet cap, ornamented with a fleur de lys of precious stones; he was noble and majestic in his demeanour, his person straight and well formed, though a little inclining to stoutness."[74]

The French chronicler dwells with great complacency upon the manner in which his sovereign overreached the King of England, on more than one occasion; and it is amusing to read his account of transactions of the French King, which, to modern ideas, appear anything but honourable. After peace had been concluded between the two Kings, a money bargain was entered into, very much apparently in the way of black mail,

[73] "Memoires," iii., 7.

[74] Philippe de Comines—"Memoires," iv., 10.

to reconcile the English to keep on their own side of the Channel. Fifty thousand crowns were to be paid yearly into the King of England's treasury, and seventy-five thousand to the King himself, before his departure for his own dominions; and sixteen thousand to the chief officers of his Court, the Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, Lord Hastings, the Lord High Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Lord Howard, Lord Cheney, Master of the Horse, and a few others; to Lord Howard, besides a pension, the King of France gave, in money and plate, twenty-four thousand crowns; to Lord Hastings, a pension of two thousand crowns, and a hundred marks in plate. The donor of these princely gifts appears to have been extremely anxious that they should be regarded as retaining fees; but they were invariably accepted as tribute. In the case of the Lord Chamberlain, who was known to possess great influence at Court, the King of France sent a special messenger, one of the stewards of his household, called Peter Cleret, with two thousand crowns, to present to Lord Hastings, as a first payment, with strict instructions to get a receipt for the money, as his majesty liked to possess evidence that the great English lords were pensioners on his bounty. The French steward of the household contrived to have a private interview with the English Lord Chamberlain, and presented his master's compliments, and a bag of two thousand gold crowns. The Lord Chamberlain accepted the gift, when the messenger politely requested a receipt; as the other took no notice, M. Cleret begged for only

three lines of acknowledgment, merely to show to the King, his master, who was of a very suspicious temper, that he had not embezzled the money. To his urgent entreaties the Lord Chamberlain at last replied gravely, "M. Cleret, what you ask is not unreasonable, but this gift proceeds from the generosity of the King of France, not from my request; if you desire me to receive it, you may place it in my sleeve, but neither letter nor receipt will I give; for to be free with you, sir, it shall never be said of me that the High Chamberlain of England was a pensioner of the French King, nor shall my writing be found in his chamber of accounts." The steward was obliged to take his leave, and told his ill-success to his master, who, notwithstanding his disappointment, appreciated the Lord Chamberlain above all his English pensioners, and annually forwarded two thousand crowns, without requiring a receipt.[75]

It was probably at Shene that the King met with the liberal old lady, when he was in want of funds to meet the expenses of the war with France, to whose benevolence the chronicler Hall offers such living testimony:—"King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in substance, and no less grown in years, of whom he merely demanded what she gladly would give him towards such great charges. 'By my troth,' quoth she, 'for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even 20*l.*' The King, looking scarce for half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kissed her.

[75] Comines—"Memoires," vi., 2.

Whether the smell of his breath did so comfort her stomach, or she esteemed the kiss of a King so precious a jewel, she swore incontinently that he should have 20*l.* more."

Sometimes the Queen entertained company of distinction in her own apartments. In honour of the Ambassador of Charles of Burgundy she there gave a banquet,[76] which lacked nothing of that Royal hospitality for which her lord was famous. These apartments may have been recent erections over the raised portions of the hall, for alterations of this kind had been made in some of the Royal residences by the King's command.[77] The chief features of the original structure must have been preserved up to very near this time, for we learn from a memorial of William Clebe, clerk of the works to Henry VI., dated 1454, that he had been ordered at Shene to rebuild the water-bridge, as well as the great quadrangle with a gatehouse, for necessary lodging for the Royal household, and to make a brick enclosure round the garden.[78]

Edward IV. paid particular attention to his toilet; and as the Court, of course, followed the example of Royalty, there was a costly display of fashions in both sexes, wherever the Royal family assembled. The group first engraved by Walpole, as a frontispiece to

[76] British Museum MS., Additional, 6113, fol. 119.

[77] Parker's "Domestic Architecture from Richard II. to Henry VII.," 78.

[78] MS. Additional, 4609, fol. 409.

his "Royal and Noble Authors," is well known: less familiar is a singular illumination,[79] representing this King seated on his throne, attended by his brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and other nobles, which is a lively illustration of the prevailing fashions. The Duke of Gloucester is evidently an exquisite; he wears a red cap with an embroidered band, and jewelled button, with a feather at the back drooping over in front, a crimson jacket, with rich fur at its termination round the hips, and at the end of the long sleeves the arm protrudes through an opening below the shoulder; it is drawn in tight to the waist by a narrow girdle a little below which it ends, like all the fashionable jackets of this period; his leggings are blue, with the order of the Garter below the left knee; and he wears long pointed *poulaines*, or shoes. The short gown, high caps, and peaked shoon were often attacked both in verse and rhyme. Long gowns were also worn by noblemen and gentlemen; indeed, the fashion changed from one extreme to the other, and padded shoulders and slit sleeves were characteristic of the time. The chief absurdity was the *poulaine*, which was sometimes two feet in length, and was as much in fashion in France as in England. The hair was now suffered to grow thick round the head, but the face was still bare. In armour there appeared several changes, but no improvement; the suit was generally of plate, with projecting elbow-pieces, wide knee-caps, and prolonged *sollerets* (answering to the pointed *poulaine*

[79] Royal MSS., 15, E 4.

in the civil costume), and long rowelled spurs. The horse was also encumbered with heavy armour over the mane, part of the head, and chest. The kneeling effigy of Sir Robert Wingfield, in the window of East Herling Church, Norfolk, showing his tabard, profusely emblazoned, and collar of suns and roses, is a good example of knightly armour in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

The ladies' head-dresses now took an upward flight, either with one horn or two; the first example towered like that of a Norman peasant, with a streamer from the back or a veil in front; the second curved round from behind upwards, and turned back at top. Collars and cuffs began to be worn with gowns, which were long-waisted, and possessed such amplitude of skirt, that the wearers were often obliged to hold them up as they walked.

Good manners then marked courtiers of both sexes, and were displayed in a knowledge of courtesy and etiquette; but modern refinement of behaviour was little understood by either. The well-bred guest at the Royal table at Shene took off his hood and gloves, washed at the lavatory, and attended to his personal appearance before he presented himself, with a proper obeisance, to take his place at the hospitable board. During the meal he was expected to look cheerful, and say little, to cut his bread by dividing the crumb from the crust, and on no account to bite it; to sit upright, to answer no one with his mouth full, only to masticate on one side of the mouth, and to make no

improper noises in eating or drinking. He was to keep his nails and fingers clean; he was not to pick his teeth, nor eject his saliva on the floor, nor soil the table-cloth, nor lean his elbows on the table, neither to allow his spoon to stand in his dish, nor to rest by the side of his plate; he was not to dip his food in the salt; and in holding his cup he was to be careful not to let his thumb go into the wine.[80]

The gentlemen of the Court were considered in some things to have degenerated, since the days of the heroes of romance. On this point Caxton expresses himself forcibly.

"O ye knights of England! where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days? What do ye now but go to the bagnios, and play at dice? And some not well-advised use not honest and good rule, against all order of knighthood. Leave this—leave it, and read the noble volumes of St. Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Tristran, of Perceforest, of Percival, of Gawayne, and many more; there shall ye see manhood, courtesie, and gentleness, if I should not displease. How many knights are there now in England that have the use and the exercise of a knight; that is to wit, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him. I suppose, and a due search should be made, there should be many found that lack, the more pity is. I would it pleased our sovereign lord that twice or thrice, or at the least once, he would do cry jousts of peace, to the end, that every knight should have horse

[80] See the metrical directions in MS., Sloane, 1986, p. 21.

and harness, and also to tourney one against one, or two against two, and the best to have a prize, a diamond, or jewel, such as should please the Prince."

In 1486 was published the first edition in folio of Juliana Berners, oft-quoted work, on field sports,[81] now of such excessive rarity, that a copy sold at the Roxburgh sale for 147*l.*; and only two perfect copies are known to exist—one in the library of the Earl of Pembroke, the other in that of the Earl of Spencer; and Dr. Dibdin estimated the value of each at 420*l.* The writer was Prioress of Slopwell Nunnery, near St. Alban's, in Hertforshire, where she wrote her work, partly from the treatise of Twety, and the master of the game, and partly from her own observation and experience; it being no uncommon thing for religious dignitaries, of both sexes, to divert their leisure with the sports of the field.

There were bowers or summer-houses placed in shady nooks of the pleasaunce, where the ladies of the Court were fond of retiring—not always alone—and these favourite places of resort became the scene of many a tender avowal. Gallant knights, and amorous esquires, spent their leisure in meditations among the flowers, or castle-building under the trees. In the story of "The

[81] "The Bokys of Hawkyng and Huntyng, and also of Cootarmoris at St. Albans." The edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1496, is also extremely rare—one copy, at the White Knght's sale, realizing 60*l.* 18*s.*; there is a beautiful copy printed on vellum in the Grenville Library, in the British Museum.

Pinnote tree,[82] and its imp," amongst the tales of the Seven Wise Masters, the rich burgess enjoyed himself in this manner in the garden of a handsome mansion he had purchased. This place of recreation is described as—

> "Full of apple tree, and of perry;
> Fowls sung therein merry;
> Amidelward that garden free,
> So wox a Pinnote tree,
> That had fair boughs and fruit,
> Thereunder was all his dedut.[83]
> He made there under a green bench,
> And drunk thereunder many a kench;[84]
> Certes therein was all his playing,
> In time of solace and his resting."

Romances, if possible, increased in favour at Court, particularly those devoted to royal heroes. Richard of the Lion Heart, however, was represented as a sort of chivalrous New Zealander, who, not content with slaying his enemies, realized Sidney Smith's idea of the fate destined for a bishop who was ambitious of founding a diocese in the Pacific. The King imagining he was eating pork, makes a repast off the head of a Saracen, which had a wonderful medicinal effect; but when he discovers the real character of his meal, he expresses his satisfaction, and orders a banquet, in which every guest is furnished with a similar delicacy—his Moorish captives having been killed by his orders, to furnish materials for the repast; subsequently when the Sultan's ambassadors are presented to him, during this horrible banquet, to show what terrible foes the

[82] A red-stocked round-leafed vine. [83] Delight. [84] Draught.

Christians are likely to prove, he commends them to represent to their master:—

"Say him, it shall him nought avail,
That he for bar us our victual,
Bread, wine, fish, flesh, salmon, conger,
Of us none shall die with hunger.
While we may wonder to fight,
And slay the Saracens downright,
Wash the flesh and roast the head,
With one Saracen I may well feed.
King Richard shall warrant
There is no flesh so nourissant
Unto an Englishman,
Partridge, plover, heron, nor swan,
Cow nor ox, sheep nor swine,
As the head of a Saracyne."

The Royal champion of the cross, moreover, threatens, assisted by his companions in arms, to eat all their heathen enemies. The incident of King Richard devouring the heart of the lion, immediately after he had slain that beast, is also described with the minuteness due to an historic fact.

Beds, in the furniture of the palace, were still the chief sources of expense. In the year 1423, Henry VI. presented to the Duke of Exeter a bed of hawking—that is, a bed with drapery, embroidered with representations of hunting and hawking scenes; which, with the rest of the furniture belonging to it, was valued at 139*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, about 2000*l.* according to the present value of money. A cotemporary MS. illumination shows the arrangement of a sleeping-chamber of a person of distinction; it is a large and lofty apartment,

worthy of a sovereign, lighted by a tall window, defended by lattice-work and shutters: from hooks in the walls the costliest arras is suspended; by the side of a handsome bedstead, having a tester, and hangings enriched with fleurs de lys, stands a beautiful carved chair, with embroidery on the back and seat; at a little distance is a couch luxuriously supplied with cushions, and the richest arras. Joan, daughter of John of Ghent, the second wife of Edward Neville, baron Abergavenny, in the year 1434, left by her will a bed of gold swans, in green tapestry, with branches of flowers of divers kinds, two pairs of sheets of Rennes, a pair of fustians, six pair of other sheets, six pair of blankets, six mattresses, six pillows, with the cushions and other furniture that belonged to the bed.[85] The Duke of Exeter, in 1447, bequeathed to his widow a bed of arras, with the scripture of honour, and all the costers.

Not only was the royal bed linen carefully perfumed with sweet herbs, and odorous flowers, but the bed-chamber was strewn with them during summer. In the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV. directions are given to the grooms to gather for the King's gowns, sheets and other cloths, the sweet flowers, herbs, roots, and things to make them breathe most wholesomely and delectable.[86]

The inns at Shene were multiplied to meet the increasing demand for accommodation; and, among the

[85] "Testamenta Vetusta." By Sir Harris Nicolas.

[86] "Collection of Ordinances." Printed by the Society of Antiquaries, 40.

picturesque timber-houses of the village, they must have stood, conspicuous for their large size, quaint barge boards, swinging signs, projecting eaves and open galleries. The "Star" at Oxford, and the "Christopher" at Eton, may give a fair idea of what such structures were in the fifteenth century; more perfect examples may be found in the "George" at Salisbury, and in one or two more of our ancient hostelries, still standing. At Richmond, every building of the kind is comparatively modern—one of the oldest of the inns was pulled down in the present century, and the house lately tenanted by Mr. Cain, the well-known house-agent and auctioneer, stands on its site. As this was at the entrance of the village, from the old Mortlake road, till recently the only direct one from London, it no doubt participated largely in the glories of Shene in the olden time.

Dining publicly in hall, except on particular occasions, fell into disuse during the reign of Edward IV.; but when a large number of guests was to be entertained, no other apartment in the building could be employed, and the old arrangements were necessarily preserved. A solar at the back of the dais, formed the royal retiring-room, whence through the open eyes and mouth of a stone mask, a good view could be obtained of the company in the larger chamber, which was much more royally furnished than in preceding centuries—the tapestry, hangings, in particular, being a source of prodigious expense. The extravagant Edward IV., and the economical Henry VII., rivalled each other in their attachment

to such decorations. The former paid Piers de Vrauix, of Gascony, 238*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*; the latter lavished the enormous sums of 265*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for fifty-two ells of arras, 522*l.* 10*s.* for forty-seven yards of cloth of estate, and 286*l.* 9*s.* for seven pieces of baudekin, and one piece of cloth of gold.[87]

> "Cloths of gold and arras were hanged in the hall,
> Depainted with pictures and histories manifold,
> Well wrought and craftily with precious stones, all
> Glittering as Phœbus and the beaten gold."[88]

A set of tapestry hangings, representing the marriage of Arthur Prince of Wales, and the Princess Katherine, executed in the reign of Henry VII., is preserved in Magdalen College Oxford, in the founder's chambers, over the principal gateway.[89]

The list of delicacies for the table increased in the fifteenth century, particularly such as were for dessert; and the tradesman who provided them carried on a very good business with the Court. We learn from the Howard household-book, that a toppet, probably a drum of figs, was procured from London, from Sandys the grocer, with a hundred and ten oranges, at the rate of ten a penny; while almonds, raisins, currants, prunes, cinnamon, and other spices, were also in much request, by the Howard family. At the banquets of Shene,

[87] MS. Additional, 7099, ff. 44, 52, 66. Henry VI. also possessed valuable tapestries; see a list in the British Museum, MS. Additional, 17, 721, ff. 45, 48.

[88] Bradshaw's "Life of St. Werburge," 1521, Pynson.

[89] Parker's "Some account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Richard II. to Henry VII.," 64.

neither trouble nor cost was spared to obtain every important fruit and preserve. Cooks employed in the Royal household put forth all their skill in concocting the choicest dainties that could be produced, and the subtlety became marvellous triumphs of the confectionary art.

Extravagant feasting was not confined to the royal table, as may be seen by looking over the provision made for the installation feast of George Neville, Arch-Bishop of York, A.D. 1466.

Wheat, quarters	300	Pigeons	4,000
Ale, tuns	300	Coneys	204
Wine, tuns	100	Bitterns	400
Ipocrass, pipes	1	Heronshaws	200
Oxen	104	Pheasants	500
Wild bulls	6	Partridges	400
Muttons	1,000	Woodcocks	100
Veals	304	Curlews	1,000
Porks	400	Egretts more than	500
Swans	2,000	Stags, bucks, and roes	4,000
Geese	1,000	Pasties of venison, cold	1,000
Capons	2,000	Parted dishes of jellies	3,000
Pigs	400	Plain dishes of jellies	4,000
Plovers	1,200	Cold tarts, baked	3,000
Quails	2,400	Hot Pasties of venison	1,500
Fowls called Rees	104	Hot custards	2,000
Peacocks	4,000	Pikes and breams	308
Mallards and Teals	204	Porpoises and seals	12
Cranes	204	Spices, sugared delicacies, and wafers plenty [90]	
Kids	2,000		
Chickens	2,000		

The Court usages of the fifteenth century increased in ceremoniousness, particularly at meals—the attendants being directed to give personal service with the most profound respect. The ewerer appointed to wait

[90] Dr. Henry's "History of England."

on the King with water for his lavation before dinner is directed, in a metrical version of his duties, to

> "Kneel down upon his knee,
> Else he forget his courtesie."

It was a part of his duty to dress the table before the banquet, which was only to be done in one way, for which ample instructions were given.

> "The ewerer shall bear his lord's board
> With double napery at one bare word,
> The selvage at the lord's side with wine,
> And down shall hang that other way win.
> The overnap shall double be laid
> To the outer side the selvage braid;
> The other selvage he shall reply
> As towel it were fairest in eye." [91]

Then the panterer came with the bread, the salt, and the vessels, knives, and spoons, which were carefully laid in their proper places, the salt-cellar at the top, with a loaf, and three knives, and a spoon to each guest. The carver now made his appearance, and took his place at the table, with a napkin about his neck for wiping the grease off his knife. He cut the loaf, and the panterer, also took the slice kneeling, and assayed or tasted it. He next proceeded to the kitchen, where he cut a piece from the meat about to be served, which the master cook, kneeling, also assayed. The sewer was then permitted to cover the viands and carry them to table, with strict injunctions against disturbing the covers on the way. Here arrived, the

[91] MS. Sloane, 1986, f. 40.

same precautions against secret poisoning were repeated.

"When the sewer comes unto the board
All the meat he assays at a bare word;
The potage first with bread y carven,
Covers it again lest they be starven;
With fish or flesh if he be served
A morsel thereof shall he be carved,
And touch the mess over all about
The sewer it eats without doubt;
With baked meat if he be served be tho
The lids upreared ere he forego,
The paste or pie he assays within,
Dips bread in gravy no more no mynne."

The royal plate and valuable portions of the wardrobe were kept in standards—large iron-bound oak chests so-called: some were beautifully carved and painted with armorial bearings. Smaller chests, called coffins or coffers, were used for the custody and transport of the royal jewels, and for coin. Settles, binks, or benches, and chairs, were more decorative, and the latter were furnished with rich cushions and dorsers. The couch in the Queen's sitting-room had a peculiar position granted to her rank. This was opposite the fire; and the Lady Eleanor de Poictiers records her indignation on finding that certain Flemish ladies had taken upon themselves so precious a privilege.[92] Lady Eleanor is an authority on Court usages, many of which she describes with much minuteness. In the buffet or plate cupboard, she tells us, the Queen was entitled to five shelves, a princess to four, a countess

[92] "Les Honneurs de la Cour." St. Palaye—"Memoirs sur l'Ancienne Chivallerie," ii. 242.

could only have three, and the lady of a banneret must be content with two. The wardrobe accounts of Edward IV.[93] show the magnificence with which the sovereign was clothed, and the expense to which he went in the decoration of his person. Crimson velvet, of Montpellier in Gascony, at twenty shillings the yard, black cloth of gold at double that price, baudekin of silk at thirty-three shillings and fourpence a yard, were among the requisite materials of his state-garments, with ermine, sable, purple and crimson cloth, sarsnet cloth of silver, satin of silk, silk damask, silk ribbons and laces, ostrich feathers, and aglettes, and spangles of silver and gilt. The example thus set was closely followed by the principal courtiers of both sexes; indeed, many were furnished with costly personal decorations by the King. The effect of this splendour may be gathered from the account of a visitor—a foreigner of distinction, who had shown the King hospitalities when a fugitive in Holland,[94] whom in gratitude he now created Earl of Winchester.

The daughters of Edward IV., Elizabeth and Mary, were nursed at Shene,[95] where they had a regular household, with Margaret Lady Berners as their governess. The King and Queen continued to hold their court at the palace with increasing splendour, and among the principal courtiers might be found the

[93] In Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York. Edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, 115.

[94] Archæologia. Narrative of Louis of Bruges, Lord Granthuse. Edited by Sir Frederick Madden.

[95] Continuation of History of Croyland. Gale's Scriptores, i. 317.

most accomplished noblemen of their day. In an illuminated MS. of the period, Caxton is introduced by his patron, Lord Rivers, to the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, showing the deep interest their Majesties took in this important art.

Among those members of the Court of Edward IV. at Shene, prominent at one period above all was Richard Nevill, second Earl of Salisbury, "the king maker" of history. He was Earl of Warwick in right of his wife, Anne Beauchamp, daughter of Richard, the fifth Earl. His adventurous career during the wars of the rival roses is well known. He is only introduced here as the Lord Great Chamberlain of England and Lord High Steward of Edward IV. after the battles of Wakefield and St. Alban's. His hospitality is said to have been of so profuse a scale, that six oxen were daily slaughtered and eaten for breakfast at his town mansion, that every one who was acquainted with his family might have as much boiled and roast as he could carry off on a dagger. As a long weapon was generally used, the quantity *spitted* away in this manner must have been enormous.

In the reign of this sovereign and of Richard III. rose to eminence Sir John Howard, created, 15th October, 1470, Baron Howard—in 1583, he was created Duke of Norfolk and Earl-Marshal of England. As the Jockey (Jacky) of Norfolk of Shakspeare, he must be familiar to every reader for the part he played at Bosworth, where he was killed.[96] Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter,

[96] Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, married, first,

third son of John of Ghent and Catherine Swynford, who died at his manor of Greenwich, Dec. 29th, 1426, in his will mentions the Priory[97] of Jesus of Bethlehem, for forty Carthusian monks, commenced by Henry V., 1414. This, like other documents of the kind, shows the extreme liberality of the wealthy nobles to the Church, when about to "set their houses in order," for their last removal. Much to their credit, they thought of the wants of their fellow-creatures. The Duke of Exeter not only made provision that poor people should attend at his funeral obsequies and profit by so doing, but the sick and infirm at the hospitals, and the poor prisoners at "Ludgate, Newgate, Fleete, and Kyngisbenche, and Marchalsie," are as kindly cared for. The monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other religious edifices, are however by far the largest recipients of his bounty, in the shape of money, vestments, plate, jewels, and ecclesiastical ornaments of great value.

William Fitz-Alan, fifteenth Earl of Arundel, was made a Knight of the Garter by Edward IV., who appointed him Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Justice of the King's forests south of Trent. He died in 1487.

Anne, daughter of Edward IV., by whom he had a daughter who died in her youth; and second, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had the poetic Earl of Surrey, Thomas Viscount Howard of Bindon, and Mary, who married Henry Fitzroy, the natural son of Henry VIII.

[97] "Ad Prioratum de Sion apud Shene," &c.—Nichols' "Collection of Wills," 252.

Sir Thomas Stanley was Lord Chamberlain to Henry VI., by whom he was much favoured, honoured with the Garter, and, by special writ, Jan. 13, 1456, summoned to Parliament as Baron Stanley. He died about two years later, and was succeeded in his honours by his eldest son, Thomas, who was Steward of the Household to Edward IV.[98]

John de Tiptoff, created Earl of Worcester, July 10th, 1449, has been regarded as the Mecænas of the Augustan Court of Edward IV. He had received the most perfect education his country could afford him, after which he travelled for several years, visiting, with other places of interest, Rome and Jerusalem. He held several high offices under Edward IV.—among them Constable of the Tower, Treasurer of the Exchequer, Lieutenant of Ireland, and Constable of England. He was one of the chief patrons of Caxton, who records his obligations to the Earl in eloquent terms, and was himself an author of varied attainments, to which due justice has been done by Bale and Walpole. During the temporary restoration of Henry VI., 1470, having become

[98] He survived this sovereign, and for his loyalty to his memory, as well as for having married Margaret Tudor, mother of the Duke of Richmond, incurred the suspicion of Richard III.; notwithstanding which he succeeded in joining his stepson after his landing in England, and assisted materially in winning the battle that put an end to the career of the usurper; and the victor, in gratitude, created him Earl of Derby. He died in 1504, and was succeeded in the earldom by his grandson. The Countess of Richmond (his second wife) survived him.

an object of the bitterest hostility to the Lancastrian party, he was seized, when concealed in the branches of a tree, conveyed to London, and beheaded on Tower Hill.

Edward, fourth Baron Grey of Ruthin, was appointed Lord Treasurer of England by Edward IV., who created him Earl of Kent. In the perilous reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., this nobleman exhibited such remarkable pliability, that he not only succeeded in keeping his head on his shoulders, when many a better rolled in the dust, but appears to have enjoyed the confidence of more than one of those dreaded chiefs of the York and Lancaster parties, and survived till the year 1488.[99]

[99] Richard, the sixth Baron de Grey of Ruthin, and third Earl of Kent, though a distinguished military commander, impoverished himself by gambling, and died at an inn in London, in the year 1523.

CHAPTER X.

New Regulations for the Royal Household—Expenditure—Allowances at Court—Establishments of Edward, Prince of Wales—Of the Princess Cicely, and the Duke of Clarence—Fashionable Cookery—Royal Meals—King Edward's Widow.

The King took especial pains in the organization of the Royal household: no less than four ordinances are in existence for the regulation of the establishment of different branches of his family. First, one entitled, "Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV;" second, "Ordinances for the Government of Prince Edward, son of King Edward IV., made 27th Sept., 1474;" third, "Orders and rules of the household of the Princess Cecill, mother of King Edward IV.;" and fourth, "Ordinances for the household of George, Duke of Clarence, made the 9th of December, 1469."[1]

[1] They have all been published from the original MSS. by the Society of Antiquaries, in the volume already quoted.

The most important is, of course, the Liber Niger, which contains most elaborate directions for the constitution and management of the King's household. It is said to have been compiled by the great council of lords, spiritual and temporal, including "the Cardinal of Canterbury, George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, the wise and discreet judges, and other sad, advised and well-learned men of England in all approvements; and also many of them long time having knowledge of the expense and conduct of the King's houses, by many prudent proves, and long studied deliberations, by their whole assent for these formal directions that ensue; whereof is defined strongly the Royal Court to stand after these appointments that follow, of all the intermixions poised by wisdom and worship, profit and by reason, answering to every estate and degree, according to liveries, competent wages, clothing, fees, rewards, and other duties, by which every officer shall now sufficiently be of power in all touch to do the King's service honourably, so the King will have his goods dispended, but not wasted. "Est sic scribitur Ecclesiastes. Domus Regis edificabitur sapienti."[2]

The whole annual expense of this Court is estimated at 13,000*l*., but "for it honourable household and lantern of England" it is not the whole expenditure, for the amount does not include the presents given by the King every year. First in the list of items we find

[2] "Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household."

the expense of diet; and it is arranged what and how much every one is to eat, beginning with the King, who, for his breakfast, is allowed "two loaves made into four manchets, and two paine-demaine, one mess of kitchen grease, and half a gallon of ale." And at noon for his board, sitting alone, eight loaves with the trenchers. The meats brought to the King's table are not specified, but his Majesty is permitted to wash them down with two pitchers and a half of wine, and two gallons of ale. At supper, by himself, he is furnished with eight loaves, the dishes not consumed at dinner, two pitchers of wine, two gallons of ale, besides fruit and confectionary. Bread and fruit are also allowed between meals, and wine at bed-time, as well as a liberal allowance of fire, lights, and rushes for his chamber.

The King's offerings at the four great feasts of the Church—Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and All-Halloween—was a noble of gold, 6*s.* 8*d.*, besides a daily offering of 8*d.*, medicinable rings of gold and silver, 25*s.*, and an offering to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury of three gold florins. The next subject for consideration is, who are to eat in the King's chamber, in which some kind of precedence is thought necessary, for the privilege had evidently been abused. "At the great feasts of the year," we are told, in curious grammar, "the officers of the chamber and yeomen shall sit and keep their meals in the King's chamber during the feasts, save grooms nor pages, sit

not there at no time, but these grooms eat with yeomen of household in the hall."

Provision is next made for the Queen's dignity and diet, which, we are told, ought to be nigh like unto the King's. Her Majesty's expenses are estimated at 40*s.* a-day for her diet, or 730*l.* a-year; and for a hundred servants at 12*d.* a-day, 1825*l.* a-year. The Prince of Wales is next in precedence; his diet is estimated at 30*s.* a-day, or 547*l.* 10*s.* a-year; with fifty servants at 12*d.* a-day, or 912*l.* 10*s.* a-year.[3] At the head of the nobility attending the King a Duke is placed, who is allowed to possess a suite of 240 persons, at an annual expense of 4000*l.* His diet is be ten loaves, four messes of great meat and roast, three pitchers of wine, and six gallons of ale, with an ample supply of fire-wood, lights, litter, and rushes. A Marquis is allowed to have 200 domestics, at the annual expense of 3000*l.*; and his diet at Court is seven loaves, the same number of dishes as the duke, two pitchers and a half of wine, and five gallons of ale. The Count or Earl is permitted a following of 140 servants, at a yearly expenditure of 2000*l.*, with a diminished allowance of diet to six loaves, four messes of meat, two pitchers of wine, and five gallons of ale. Next in precedence comes the Bishop Confessor; this prelate has only four loaves, two messes of meat, a pitcher and a half of wine, and two gallons

[3] The King, to prevent abuses often practised by the Royal purveyors, ordered, that "no purveyor of King, Queen, nor Prince, take no manner of stuff within his livery so delivered by the King's harbergers, but only at the will of the owners, of less than it is to sell at the markets."

and a half of ale, with other privileges. The Chancellor of England is allowed the run of the wine-cellar, to show the more largesse to the members of Chancery, suitors, and strangers, as well as for to give his favour and tender love to the honour and steadfast guiding of the King's household, and of all the servants thereof. The great Chamberlain of England only came to Court at the five principal feasts of the year. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, like the Lord Chanceller, looked to the cellar, whence he yearly took two tuns of wine.

A Viscount is allowed eighty domestics, at an annual cost of 1000*l.*; his daily diet at Court is four loaves, three messes of meat, one pitcher of wine, and three gallons and a half of ale. A Baron is permitted to have forty servants, at a yearly expense of 800*l*; he has three loaves, two messes of meat, half a pitcher of wine, and two gallons of ale. Next in order comes the King's chamberlain, who governs the King's chamber, overlooks the service, and engages and discharges the attendants; he daily eats six loaves, four messes of meat, and drinks one pitcher of wine, and four gallons of ale. Four banneretts, or knight bachelors, are employed as carvers and cup-bearers; each is allowed two loaves, one mess of gross meat, half a pitcher of wine, and two gallons of ale. Also a carver has the privilege of choosing one or two dishes that the King has passed; he is allowed twenty-four servants in his own household, at an expense of 200*l.* a-year. There are twelve knights of the household, "most valiant men

of that order of every county;" each has one loaf, one quart of wine, and one gallon of ale daily; but "if he be sick, or specially let blood, or clystered, he taketh livery four loaves, two messes of great meat and roast, half a pitcher of wine, and two gallons of ale;" but this handsome arrangement, by which the sick man is expected to eat and drink twice as much as when well, is only for special occasions when such remedies are resorted to, to avoid pestilence. Each is permitted sixteen domestics, at a yearly cost of 100*l.*

After these are classed a secretary, four chaplains, four esquires for the body, one sewar, surveyor and wardrober, four gentlemen ushers of the chamber, twenty-four yeomen of the crown, four yeomen of the chamber, one yeoman and two grooms, and one page of the wardrobe, one yeoman of the beds, one groom porter of the chambers, with two grooms and one page, and ten grooms and four pages of the chamber; in the jewel-house is an architectour or keeper of the King's jewels, with a clerk and a groom. The doctor of physic is employed to give directions as to the royal diet, and to see that no person about the Court be infected with leprosy or pestilence, and that dangerously sick men do not remain there; the master surgeon, with a yeoman-surgeon and groom, are allowed a part of the old broken meat, cloths and towels perused in the ewery to make plasters for the sick officers of the Court; to these may be added an apothecary and a barber—the latter functionary is not only to shave the king, but to wash his head, legs and feet. Six youths are employed as henchmen, with a

master to show the schools of urbanity and nurture of England, to teach them to ride cleanly and surely, to draw them also to jousts, to instruct them how to wear armour, to use all courtesy in words, deeds, and degrees, diligently to keep them in rules of goings and sittings after they be of honour, moreover to teach them sundry languages and other virtuous learning, to harp, to pipe, sing and dance, with other honest and temperate behaviour and pastime." These were usually the King's wards, and had therefore the education always given to persons of birth.

In addition there were forty, sometimes sixty, esquires of the household—twenty to attend upon the King's person in riding and going at all times, others to serve the King's table, the hall, and the King's chamber. They were selected from families of respectability in different counties; and in winter and summer, on afternoons and mornings, were to draw to the lords chamber within the Court, there to keep honest company, after their cunning in talking of chronicles, of Kings, and of other policies; or in piping, or harping, singing, or other martial acts, to help occupy the Court.

The kings-of-arms, heralds, and pursuivants only attended the Court on special state occasions; but four sergeants-at-arms, "chosen proved men of behaviour and condition," attended the King's person, two at a time, to keep off the press of the people, and to look to the conveyance of his meat. The King employed thirteen minstrels, with one as a director, to superintend their performances at festivals, and at

meals and supper. Some used trumpets, some shalms, or small pipes, the rest other instruments; there was in addition a *wait*, that piped the watch within the Court, four times or three times a night. There were also four messengers, to go of errands for the officers of the Court concerning the King.

In the royal chapel there was a dean, who was chief chaplain after the confessor, and had the direction of sixteen priests and clerks, two yeomen of the chapel called "pistillers" who read the epistle, and eight children for the choir—the latter when eighteen years old, and their voices had broken, were sent by the King to some college at Oxford or Cambridge, of royal foundation, till his Majesty chose otherwise to advance them; there were besides one clerk of the closet, and a sergeant of the vestiary, who had the custody of the furniture of the royal chapel; as well as a master of grammar, to teach any one desirous of learning, and to assist at the altar.

A clerk of the crown of the King's chancery saw to the commissioners of the royal purveyors; a clerk of the market examined franchises of cities, boroughs and towns, as to the assize of bread, wine, and ale, and weights and measures, punished transgressors, and rode before the King in his journeys, to warn the people to bake, to brew, and make ready other victual and stuff, in their lodgings. A clerk of the works appears to have had merely nominal duty in this King's reign.

The Black Book then describes the duties of the general officers of the royal household, beginning with the

steward, who receives his staff from the King, with the command, "Seneschall tenez la baton du notre hostiell," which makes him judge of life and limb in the Court. Besides his superintendence of the household, he has to call the names of knights, citizens and burgesses at the parliament door, the first day of the session, to fine such as fail to appear, and license such as desire to depart; he is to be assisted by a board of doom, consisting of the treasurer, comptroller, cofferer, two clerks of the green cloth, and the chief clerk of the controlment, in the government of the establishment. Next comes the treasurer of the household, who has to remember the King's dispositions, and the wants of the Court, that he may have ready the King's wines, and make provision for all other articles of consumption, and see that they are of the proper quality and quantity; the controller looks to the receipts and issues, keeps accounts to check the purveyors, and superintends "the coupage of flesh, and the departing of fish at the service of the King's chamber and hall," as well as keeps the book of wine; the cofferer takes the receipts, keeps the accounts, and pays the fees, wages, and rewards of the household; the two clerks of the green cloth assist as auditors and counsellors in the accounts, and keep the books of the house; and the clerk of controlment overlooks the purveyances, great and small, the administration of the messes, and keeps an account of all manner of victual and stuff expended in the Court.

An important department of the household, the counting-house, was under the management of a

sergeant-usher, with a yeoman, groom, and page, to keep the treasure and the books; a chariot and a sumpter horse were employed for their accommodation, and the porters of the gate were allowed to carry in the chariot a pair of small stocks, for the punishment of trespassers. It is ordained that every sergeant and master of the office keep good and sad rule within; they are not to suffer talking during business, nor the keeping of hounds nor ferrets by the servants—the rascals and hangers-on of the Court are to be sought out and punished; nothing is to be surreptitiously taken out of the gate; no fighting nor quarrelling is to be permitted, all thieves and outrageous rioters are to be sent to the Marshalsea prison; no man of either high or low degree is to presume to hawk, hunt or fish, on any property, without license of the owner—offenders are to be first warned, on the second offence they are to lose a month's wages, on the third to receive a month's imprisonment, and on the fourth to be thrust out of the Court and never again permitted to enter it. No servant is to be allowed to trade; and every one using an oath, or an improper word, is to have no wine at his meals. Then follow directions for the office of the bakehouse, pantry, waferer, butler of England, purveyors of wine, cellar, butlery of ale, pitcher and cup-house, great spicery, confectionary, chandlery, ewery, napery, and laundry.

The statutes and ordinances made for the government of the household of the Prince of Wales were addressed to Earl Rivers, the prince's chamberlain, and the Bishop of Rochester, and direct that on the rising of

the Prince no one enter his chamber but Lord Rivers, or one of his chaplains, to say mass in his presence; after which his highness is to go into his chapel to hear mass. On holy days he is to hear all the service, and offer before the altar; and at the principal feasts attend the sermons, with such of his officers as can be spared from their duties. He is to breakfast immediately after mass, and between this meal and his dinner is to be employed in virtuous learning fit for his age; his dishes are to be served by worshipful folks and esquires bearing Court livery, and all the other officers are to be in attendance. No one is to sit at his board, without permission from Lord Rivers; and during his meal such noble stories are to be read before him as behoveth a Prince to understand. The conversation in his presence is to be of virtue, honour, cunning, wisdom, and deeds of worship, and of nothing of a vicious tendency; after his meal he is to return to his learning, and then to be shown such convenient sports and exercises as behoveth his estate to have experience in. He is to go to his evensong at a convenient hour, after which his supper is to be served in the same manner as the dinner; then such honest disports as may conveniently be desired for his recreation. He is to retire to his chamber by eight o'clock, and his attendants are to enforce themselves to make him joyous and merry towards his bed, when his counsellors and officers are to keep sure and good watch about his person.

The household are directed to attend mass in the

hall at six o'clock in the morning, at seven matins in chapel, at nine a mass sung by children. The chaplain, who is the Prince's almoner, and confessor of the household, is truly, discreetly and diligently to gather and distribute his alms to the poor; the other two chaplains are to say mass and divine service before him; no person is to be "a customable swearer, brawler, common lazarder, adventurer, or use words of ribaldry," especially in his presence. The sons of noblemen and gentlemen in his establishment are to rise at a convenient hour, to hear mass, and be virtuously brought up in grammar, music, and other cunning, and exercises of humanity, in accordance with their rank and age, and in no wise to be permitted to be idle, or to have any unvirtuous occupation. Dinner is to be at ten in the morning, on fasting days at eleven, and supper at four in the afternoon; the hall is to be orderly served, and strangers to be cherished according to their behaviour; no servant of any person is to be suffered to remain in his chamber at meal time, or to go out of the gates; and no one is to lodge out of the Court without a reasonable cause.

The gates from Michaelmas to the first of May are to be closed at nine o'clock in the evening, and opened in the morning between six and seven; and from the first of May to Michaelmas to be closed at ten, and opened between five and six. The weapons of strangers are to be left there; no improper person is to be admitted, and nothing is to be smuggled out of the house; no quarrelling or extortion of the people is to

be permitted; if any person strike another, he is to be punished, and if he draw any weapon with a hostile intention, the offender is to be set in the stocks—on a second offence, to be discharged.

The treasurer and comptroller every week are to keep accounts of the expenditure, and at the end of the month render a declaration to the council; a nightly report is to be made of the absentees, and instructions given in writing to every officer; a skilful physician and surgeon are to be attached to the household, and neither bribery nor unfitting rule is to be suffered; every man is to give proper attendance with horse and harness, and to have only respectable servants and no children. The general receiver of the Duchy of Cornwall, the chamberlain of Chester and Flint, also the chamberlain of South Wales, are at stated times to bring in the sums due to the Prince, and deliver them to his council; which money is to be kept in a chest, with three keys—one to be in the possession of the Queen, the others in the custody of Earl Rivers and the Bishop of Rochester, the receipts and payments are to be entered in a book, and the Prince's signet to be kept in the same chest; and not to be "occupied" but by the advice of his council. Lord Rivers and the Bishop are to promote and punish, at their discretion.

The fees of the Prince's servants are thus enumerated; those of the pantry are entitled to the chippings and broken bread, those of the cellar to the empty wine vessels; the butlers have the worn cups and "broken ale," but they are to find yeast for the bakehouse; the master

cook hath "the fleeting of the head," and the rabbit skins; the larders have the necks of mutton two fingers from the head, the legs two fingers from the hough, and the parings of the flanks of the oxen and sheep; the purveyors of beef, mutton, veal and lamb, who occupy the butchery, have the ox heads, sheep's heads, the rumps of every beef, and the entrails of every beast, except the feet, which are to be served in the house in winter, for supper, on Mondays and Wednesdays, from the feast of All Hallows to the Purification of our Lady; the purveyor is bound to answer "to my lady's advantage" (the Queen), the value of all the hides of oxen, calf, sheep and lamb skins, and their tallow every month, and to give an account every year of all "beeves and muttons" delivered into his hands, showing the hides and skins of those that died of the murrain; and is to make recompense for such as have been lost by his negligence.

The penalties for offences are: If any man come to matins upon a holyday, after the third lesson, he is to sit at the water board, and make his dinner of bread and water; if he be a customable swearer, especially by the mass, he falleth into perdition after his degree; if he be one of my lady's council, or a great officer, he shall forfeit twelve pence, a gentleman four pence, a yeoman two pence, a groom a penny, a page an *obolus* (a half-penny); no man is to misintreat any man, his wife, daughter, or servant, on pain of being discharged; the first offence in quarrelling to be met with admonition, the second with exclusion; all are to maintain familiarity

only with their equals, and no one is to undertake any person's business, or to go to sessions, without permission of "my lady's council," on pain of losing his service; the same penalty is to fall on any one failing at Easter to produce evidence in writing to show where he was shriven, and received the sacrament.

The orders and rules of the Princess Cecile state that she is to ride at seven in the morning, when her chaplains are to say matins; and when she is ready she is to hear low mass in her chamber, after which "she taketh something to recreate nature," and so goeth to the chapel to hear divine service, and two low masses; from thence to dinner, during which the Princess is to have a lecture of holy matter, either "Hilton of Contemplative and Active Life," "Bonaventure de Infancia," "Salvatoris Legenda Aurea," "St. Maud," or "St. Katherine of Sonys on the Revelations of St. Bridget." After this she gives audience for an hour, then sleeps a quarter of an hour, next prays till the first peal of evensong, and then drinks wine or ale at her pleasure. Her chaplain attends to say both evensongs, and after the last peal she goes to chapel, and hears evensong by note, from thence to supper, when she recites to her attendants the lecture she heard at dinner. After supper she disposeth herself to be familiar with her gentlewomen, to the enjoyment of honest mirth. One hour before bed-time the Princess takes a cup of wine, then goes to her closet, and takes leave of God for that night, and by eight o'clock is in bed.

Dinner is to be served at eleven o'clock before noon,

on fast-days an hour later, supper at five in the afternoon. Upon Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, the household have boiled beef and mutton, and one mess of roast; at supper leched beef and roast mutton. Upon Mondays and Wednesdays, one boiled beef and mutton, except on holy-days, when roast is served; and the same supper. Upon Fridays salt fish, and two dishes of fresh fish. On Saturdays salt fish, one fresh fish, and mutton; at supper, salt fish and eggs. Wine daily to head-officers; and payments are made every Friday in each month, for different commodities; every quarter the chapel, and every half-year the household, with livery cloth once a-year. Proclamation is to be made once a quarter, to know if true payments have been received. The sick are to have what is proper for them, and board wages allowed gentlemen at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* a-week, with 9*d.* for a servant, a yeoman 12*d.*, a groom or page 10*d.*

The establishment of the Duke of Clarence was arranged with all the state observances of a Royal household, the same regard having been paid to regular worship at stated hours, and to orderly and virtuous behavour. Dinner and supper are to be served at the same hour as the King's. The Duke's almoner is directed to distribute 12*d.* a-day; and from every dish on the Duke's table, after he has set it by, to take sufficient to make an alms-dish, to be given to the most needy man or woman, at his discretion; while the remnant in chamber and hall, called the relief, is by him to be kept from the devouring of dogs, to be distributed at the gate

four or five days in the week to the poor. The last service "for all night," is to be not later than seven or eight o'clock.

No doors or windows are to be broken, nor locks picked; no gaming for money to be allowed, except during the twelve days at Christmas, and no swearing to be permitted; proper accounts are to be kept, bread is to be baked every day, pain-mains (small loaves or rolls) every second day, manchet bread, and round bread for the household, thirty loaves, weighing over thirty ounces, and well-baked, twenty-eight to every bushel, half that weight for small bread, at the rate of two pain-mains, and two manchets for a loaf, and a supply is to be baked for horses and hounds. Arrangements are made to prevent abuses in the wine and ale department, and embezzlement of victuals, silver plate, pewter vessels, and other household stuff. No one at departing the Court is to leave behind him man, child, horse, grey-hound, or other hound; all stuff and harress are to be covered in cloth-sacks, mails, fardels, or trunks, and no one is to pack his own with the property belonging to the Duke. Regular attendance is insisted on, and the herbergers are to see that every person is lodged according to his degree.

Among the laws are, that no loaf be pared, except for my lord and his board; all others are to be chipped. In the kitchen no fees are to be allowed of the grease till my lord and his household be sufficiently served

for frying, and for the *uncture* of the chariots and carts. The establishment consisted of 188 persons of the riding household, 117 standing; and 148 were the standing household for the Princess. Their annual expenditure was:—

	£	s.	d.
Wheat, 680 quarters, at 6*s.*	195	0	0
Wine, 41 tuns, a hogshead, two sextaries, and 2½ pipes, at 22½*d.*, including 100*s.* for carriage	206	9	10¾
Sweet wine, malvoisie, romenay, bastard muscadel, &c.	20	0	0
Ale, 365 tuns, at 1*s.* 4*d.* the gallon	486	13	4
Beef, 410 carcases	225	0	0
Mutton, 2,700	180	0	0
Boars from All-Hallow-tide till Shrove-tide, 10 at 13*s.* 4*d.*	6	13	4
Veal, 240 at 2*s.* 6*d.*	30	0	0
Pork, 420 at 2*s.*	42	0	0
Bay salt, 10 wey at 13*s.* 4*d.*	6	13	4
Ling and salt fish, 2,700 at 60*s.* the hundred	81	0	0
Stock-fish, 1,600 at 30*s.*	24	0	11
Salmon, 4 barrels at 30*s.*	6	0	0
Sprats, 12 cade	2	0	0
Red herrings, 12 cade	4	0	0
White herrings, 12 barrels	6	0	0
Salt fish, 848 barrels	32	18	0
Stock-fish,	9	0	0
Salmon, 6 barrels	9	0	0
Salt eels, 1 barrel	3	6	8
Sturgeon, 1 barrel	3	0	0
Olive oil, 40 gallons at 12*d.*	2	0	0
Honey, 2 barrels	3	0	0
Fresh acates and dainties	608	6	8
Wax, 1,092 lbs.	32	9	10
Candles, 13 lbs.	32	4	0
White salt, two quarters five bushels, at 8*d.* the bushel	8	15	6

	£	s.	d.
Strainers, 100 yards at 2*d.*; bultes, 8 ells at 6*d.*, and 40 at 2*d.*; paper, 1*l.*; parchment, 1*l.*; ink, 6*s.* 8*d.*; red wax, 3*s.* 4*d.*; canvas, 200 ells at 40*s.* the 100; crescloth, 4 pieces at 33*s.* 4*d.*; Holland, 100 ells at 6*d.*, 150 ells at 8*d.*, and 100 ells at 1*s.* 4*d.*; naperie of Deavaunt, 40 ells at 1*s.* 4*d.*; of Paris, 50 ells at 3*s.* 4d.; diaper, 50 ells at 4s. 6*d.*; towels, 50 ells at 1*s.* 8*d.*; napkins, 2 dozen, at 12*d.*; of Paris, 1 dozen at 1*s.* 8*d.*; others, one dozen at 3*s.* 4*d.*	58	15	8
Spices—Pepper, 100 lbs. at 16*d.*; Saffron, 16 lbs. at 13*s.* 4*d.*; Ginger, 3 lbs. at 1*s.* 6*d.*; cloves, 13 lbs. at 2*s.* 6*d.*; mace, 13 lbs. at 2*s.* 6*d.*; cinnamon, 80 lbs. at 1*s.* 6*d.*; grains of Paradise, 4 lbs. at 1*s.* 8*d.*; long pepper, 4 lbs. at 3*s.* 4*d.*; saunders, 20 lbs. at 4*d.*; turnsole, 6 lbs. at 2*s.*; nutmegs, 6 lbs. at 8*d.*; dates, 200 lbs. at 4*d.*; jardens and valaunces, 330 lbs.; prunes, 50 lbs. at 2*d.*; annis, 12 lbs. at 6*d.*; liquorice, 12 lbs. at 1*d.*; sugar, 120 lbs. at 10*d.*, and 200 lbs. at 6*d.*; cassyns, 300 lbs. at 2*d.*; green ginger, 60 lbs. at 1*s.* 1*d.*; charequynces, 10 lbs. at 5*s.*; comfits, raisins, and currants, a barrel at 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; figs and raisins, at 12*s.* 4*d.*; rice, 200 lbs. at 3*d.*	72	6	8
Mustard, vinegar, and verjuice, with herbs	2	6	8
Wood and coals, 8*d.* a-day winter, 6*d.* a-day summer	106	9	4
The barge with 17 rowers, 14*s.* 4*d.* a-day .	16	0	0
The stable, 69 double horses, and 24 hackneys, with 1 load of hay a-day, 14s.; (69 of them being allowed oats,) 1820 quarters, at 1*s.* 8*d.*; litter, 104 loads, at 1*s.* 4*d.*; shoeing each horse by the dozen, 1*s.* 4*d.*	35	5	3

	£	s.	d.
Short gowns, 25 cloths at various prices .	119	10	0
Wages of household in the Chequer Roll, 1,099*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; fees and rewards, without lords, ladies, knights, and learned counsel, 172,134	1,261	13	8
Alms	18	5	0
Wages out of Court	40	0	0
Long gowns for the chamberlain, head officers, knights, and ladies, twenty-three each at 8*l.*; chaplains, carvers, cupbearers, sewers, ushers, and henchmen 35, 5 each at 6*l.*; for the chapel, squires of household, and clerks 25, 5 at 100*s.*; yeomen of the chamber, and officers 16, at 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; grooms of the chamber, and officers of the stable, 75 persons, 10 cloths at 4*l.*; pages of officers, and children of the kitchen, 14 persons, 2 at 2*l.* 10*s.*	188	13	4
Sum total . . .	£4,505	15	10¾

It will be seen from this account that the establishment of the King's brother at Waltham was but a reduced copy of that of the King at Shene; and the former contains many particulars from which the reader may judge the items and the extent of the expenditure of the larger Court. The daily consumption shows that eating and drinking were conducted on a grand scale—that of wheat being a quarter and six bushels, (while the Royal establishment consumed five quarters), at the rate of thirty loaves to a bushel of flour, which made 420 loaves a-day for the Duke's household. Two oxen a-day, and twelve sheep, two calves, and four porkers, to say nothing of fowl, and fish, and other

acates, were washed down with six sextaries of wine and two pipes of ale. The dessert was liberally furnished with dates, Jordan and Valentia almonds, prunes, figs, raisins, comfits, green ginger, and preserves of various kinds.

How well our forefathers lived in the fifteenth century, may be gathered from the collection of receipts in cookery already referred to,[4] which prove that they had also an abundance of made dishes as well as vegetables in a variety of forms. There are not only here many compositions the names of which must be a puzzle to the disciple of Soyer, but as in the preceding century, things were sent up to table as delicacies, which no one now-a-days would venture to taste. The service on a fish-day consisted, for the first course—of oysters in gravy, hake, herrings, and pike, storkfish, and merlings fried. Second course—eels in gravy, and porpoise, and galentine, congar, and salmon, dory fresh and roasted, gurnet boiled and baked, and eel-pie. Third course—rose potage,[5] and cream of almonds, sturgeon, and whelks, great eels, and lampreys roasted, and tench in jelly, and therewith daryolus,[6] and leche-fryes,[7] made of frit and friture. There is another service, which is equally strange to

[4] Printed at the end of "Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household."

[5] A dish made of brawn of capons, or hens stewed in rice, flour, and almond milk, with powdered cinnamon, cloves, and mace, coloured with sanders.

[6] A kind of custard made of sugar, cheese, milk, eggs, and almonds.

[7] Morsels served up in a fritter.

modern taste—Butter of almonds, and furment with porpoise,[8] eels in surre,[9] and gravy fish, salt lamprey, pike, and hake, or codling, or haddock, with ginger; great baked eels brayed in soup, turbot, plaice, and soles, and jelly leche-fries, and a forced meat, or stuffing, called pomme d'orange, of which presently. At the third course were—potage of Ind,[10] and cream of almonds, bream de mer, gurnet, crabs, crayfish, and lamprey, great eels roasted, baked bream or carp, and cheese, daryolus, tartlets, and pears in syrup.

One service on flesh-day consisted of boar's head, and brus to potage,[11] and therewith beef, mutton, and pastels of pork, swan, and roasted rabbit, and tart. Second course—doore,[12] and rose to potage, and therewith mallard and pheasant, chickens farsed and roasted, and "malachis baked." Third course—rabbits in gravy, and boar brased in soup, roasted teal, partridges, woodcock, snipe, raffyoles baked, and flampoyutes. Raffyoles is a curious dish; the recipe for making it we add here:—"Take swine's liver, and soak it, and hew it small, add yolk of eggs, mix well, and make it right supple, then add a little lard, minced with grated cheese, powdered ginger, and cannel, of which make balls as large as an apple, and put each by itself in the cawl of the swine, then make a coffin of paste of the

[8] A custard flavoured with porpoise.

[9] Stewed with spice and raisins.

[10] Soup made of almond milk, sweet wine, rice, cloves, and sugar.

[11] The rumbels of a pig or porpoise, minced with leeks, onions, and spice.

[12] Small birds, with almonds and onions.

same shape, in which place it, and bake it; then take yolks of eggs and beat them well, adding powdered sugar, coloured with saffron—pour over, and serve up."

A curious dish, called "flampoyutes," is made of larded pork, soaked and minced with grated cheese and powdered sugar; this is placed in a covering of paste three inches deep, while a thin foil of paste is cut into points, fried in grease, stuck in the lining, it is then baked, and served up.

Another service on flesh-days consisted, for the first course—of browet farsing. As this was a dish held in high estimation, it must be here described. A milk is made by pounding almonds with beef broth, which is boiled in a pot with cloves, mace, pimento, currants, and minced ginger; then bread is steeped in sweet wine, and added with sugar; parboiled rabbits, or squirrels, and partridges are, as in a preceding instance, fried whole for a lord; for meaner people, are chopped in gobbets (pieces), and when almost fried cast into the pot with the other ingredients, and boiled. The mess is coloured with sanders and saffron, and flavoured with vinegar, and powdered cinnamon strained in wine. It is taken from the fire, and, as the potage is poured out, a good deal of powdered ginger is thrown in. It is then served—a whole coney, rabbits, squirrel, or partridge, being for a lord only.

With this dish came "charlet to potage." Charlet was made of sage and pork, boiled in a pan with milk and eggs, and a little saffron, till they curdled, when it was served up; with these came—in the first course, baked mallard and teal, small birds in almond milk, and

capons roasted with the syrup, veal and pig roasted, and hernesewes (herons), with a leche and a tart of flesh, (meat pie). The second course commenced with "browet of almagne"—a dish also in especial estimation: parboiled rabbits are cut in pieces with ribs of pork or kid, and soaked over the fire in a pot; then ground almonds and beef broth are added, and boiled with cloves, mace, pimento, cinnamon, minced ginger and currants, chopped onions and a little saffron; then the flesh is taken from the broth, and alkanet is fried and added through a strainer, a little vinegar and powdered ginger being thrown in just before it is served. Blanche browet of almagne was made of kids or chickens, cut up and boiled with grapes, powdered ginger and cinnamon, and almond milk coloured red or yellow.

With the browet came "viand royale to potage." The viand royal, as its name implies, was a grand dish; and a recipe for making enough for forty persons is thus given:—A gallon of vernage (a sweet wine) is boiled to three quarters; another pint is added, with two pounds of sugar, two of chardekoynes, and one pound of paste-royal, and they are boiled to a gallon; then the yolks of sixty eggs are beaten and strained, with a pint of rose-water, with these a quarter of a pound of powdered ginger are mingled over the fire; and when the mess is ready, a bar of gold, and another of silver foil are laid on the potage, in the shape of a St. Andrew cross; lastly, sugar-plate, or ginger-plate, or paste-royal, is cut into lozenges, and put in the spaces between the bars; then it is served.

To these dishes were added mallards, rabbits and pheasants roasted, and venison—a jelly, leche, "urchins" and "pomme d'orange." The last dish appears to be a kind of forcemeat balls, made of pig's liver, bruised with pepper, cloves, cinnamon, saffron, and currants, formed the size of apples, with the white of egg; after being partly boiled, they were roasted on a spit, and covered with ground parsley eggs and flour. The "urchins" were made of the maw of a great swine, with five or six pigs' maws filled with the farcing or balls just described, and sewn up; they are partly boiled, then fried with bits of paste set in the maw, and finally roasted on a spit. In the third course came "boar in egurdouce," which was fresh brawn soaked and cut in thin leches, three in a dish, with dates and currants, washed clean and bruised in a mortar with a few cloves, then mixed with claret or other sweet wine, and boiled in a pot with sugar or honey and mixed ginger, powdered cinnamon, and vinegar, and coloured with saunders or saffron; pines or almonds are then blanched and fried in pure grease, and when dry the brawn is dressed, with them and the syrup poured over them. With this dish came "mawmene to potage," a similar dish made of the brawn of capons or pheasants, with almonds, rice, and spice, and grains of pomegranate as a garnish; it was brought on table with roasted cranes, kid, curlew, and partridge, a peacock decorated and served with the skin, a leche and custard; also with a cockagris, flaumpoynts, daryoles and pears in syrup. Cockagris is an old cock stuffed with the force meat balls already

described, a pig is filled with the same, and after having been soaked, is roasted on a spit, and dressed with yolk of egg, and saffron, and with gold and silver foil.

Such was the cookery in fashion at Court in the fifteenth century, and such the meals served to the Royal family when dining in hall at the King's Manor-house at Shene. This kind of feasting, however, ended at the death of the King, 9th April, 1483. Acts followed of a very different character, including the imprisonment and murder of his heir, and the usurpation of the King's brother, whose pilgrimage to the priory at Shene, as recorded in the preceding chapter, does not appear to have exercised any religious influence over one of the party.

Mary, the second daughter of Edward IV., who had been brought up with the other members of her family at Shene, died at Greenwich Palace in her sixteenth year, about a year before her father—May 23, 1482; and having lain in state in the church, attended by mourners, with the usual accompaniments of a Royal funeral, the procession passed through Kingston on its way to St. George's chapel, Windsor, where the corpse received sepulture. Among the attendants were Lord Dacre, Chamberlain to the Queen, and his lady, who had been the Princess's governess. As the mournful train passed through Wandsworth, it probably took the Shene road, but the account states that it was met by the inhabitants of Kingston nine miles from that town, which must have been not far

from its starting-point. Among the mourners was Prince Edward, her brother, who joined the procession at Windsor, and remained till the body was deposited in the chapel.[13]

Elizabeth the widow of Edward IV., after the accession of Henry VII., received a liberal provision, and was often at Court, where she was treated by the King and Queen with especial consideration.[14] Several manors were settled upon her. Towards the close of her changeful life, the Queen-dowager retired to the monastery at Bermondsey, where she died.[15] Some historical writers have made many misstatements respecting the position of this Queen after the death of Richard III., and have dwelt unnecessarily on her unostentatious funeral, as an instance of the parsimony of Henry VII.[16]

Her will, dated 10th April, 1492, is an interesting document, as it discloses her position at the time it was written, and displays her good sense and good feeling. After the preamble, the document proceeds: "Item, I bequeath my body to be buried with the body of my lord at Windsor, according to the will of my said lord, and mine, without costs entering, or costly expenses done thereabout: Item, where I have no worldly goods to do the Queen's grace, my dearest daughter,[17] a pleasure with,

[13] "Lives of the Princesses," iii., 401.

[14] "Lelandi Collectanea," iv., 249.

[15] Harris Nicolas—"Privy-purse expenses of Elizabeth of York." Introductory Memoir, lxxvii.

[16] Strickland—"Queens of England," ii., 369.

[17] "Consort of Henry VII."

neither to reward any of my children, according to my heart and mind, I beseech Almighty God to bless her grace with all her noble issue, and with as good heart and mind as is to me possible, I give her grace my blessing, and all the aforesaid, my children."[18]

In nominating her executors, John Ingilby, prior of the charter-house of Shene, is named first.

[18] Nichols' "Collection of Wills," 350.

CHAPTER XI.

State Dresses of Henry VII. and his Queen—Tournaments at Shene—Service of the Royal Table—Ceremony of Making the King's Bed—Court Usages at Festivals—New Palace—Shene now called Richmond—Marriage of the King's Daughter—The Queen's Expenses at Richmond—Costume—The King's Will.

On state occasions King Henry VII. studied magnificence at Shene quite as much as his predecessors had done, particularly when entertaining persons of distinction. His riding dress was "a doublet of green or white cloth of gold satin, with a long gown of purple velvet, furred with ermine, powdered, open at the sides, and purfled with ermine, with a rich sarpe (scarf), and garter." His horse was richly trapped, and bore a saddle of estate, covered with cloth of gold. His Majesty was attended by seven henchmen, clothed in doublets of crimson satin, with gowns of white cloth of gold. The Queen appeared with equal splendour, "wearing a round circle of gold, set with pearls and precious

stones, arrayed in a kirtle of white damask cloth of gold, furred with miniver pure, garnished, having a train of the same, with damask cloth of gold, furred with ermine, with a great lace, and two buttons and tassels of white silk, and gold at the breast above." Her litter was lined with white damask of silk, garnished with frieze of silk and gold, with ribbon of gold, and gilt nails. It was furnished with cushions of white damask cloth of gold. Two noble coursers bore it upon two saddles, covered with white damask cloth of gold, garnished in the same manner; the leather dorsers, bridles, cruppers, collars, pelrettes, and trappers, were of white damask of silk. Her Majesty was attended by five henchmen, in doublets of crimson satin, and gowns of blue velvet. After them came three chairs with twelve ladies in them—the first covered with crimson cloth of gold, the second with crimson velvet, the third with crimson damask; and seven ladies, in gowns of blue velvet purpled with crimson satin, on palfreys of one colour, their saddles covered with crimson cloth of gold, and furred with powdered ermine.

The indoor dresses of state for both were still more costly. The King wore two shirts—one of lawn, the other of crimson tarteran, both open before, behind, and at the shoulders, and laced with silver gilt armlets. The lower garment was made very large from the hips to the middle of the thigh, and drawn together before and behind with a velvet belt, ending in a pair of hose of crimson sarsnet. His coat was of crimson satin, open, like the shirt, to which the hose

were laced with silk ribband; and his surcoat was close furred with miniver pure, the collar, cuffs, and points garnished with ribbons of gold. On his head was a hood of estate, furred with miniver pure, and purpled with ermine; and he had over his dress a great mantle of crimson satin, furred with the same, with a great lace of crimson silk and two tassels.

The Queen's state-dress is described as consisting of a chemise of Rennes, a surcoat royal of crimson velvet, the shoulders lined, and the body furred with miniver, garnished with silver gilt armlets, and a mantle of crimson velvet, the train furred with ermine.[19]

Shene was the favourite residence of the King and Queen in the summer months, and they lived very happy within the Royal Manor-house after their marriage. In 1486 the Queen gave birth to a son, Prince Arthur, at Winchester, and after the ceremonies of churching and baptism, which were conducted with great state, a nursery was established for the infant heir at Farnham, where several of the Royal children were occasionally sent for change of air.

In the year 1487 occurred Lambert Simnel's rebellion. The young Earl of Warwick, having been comprised in this treason, was brought from the Tower in public procession to Shene. The Queen and several members of the Court conversed with him, but they

[19] "Original Documents, illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII. and VIII., selected from the archives of the Duke of Rutland." Printed for the Camden Society, 1842. In Hall's Chronicle may also be found interesting details in the life of Henry VII. and of his Queen.

found him so deficient in intelligence, that a proper comprehension of even ordinary subjects seemed out of the question. Whether this was the result of fright, is not stated; but as he had associated with the children of Edward IV. at Shene, only two years before, where such intense stupidity was not remarked, it is probable that his imprisonment may have had something to do with it. He subsequently returned to the Tower. The fate of the puppet who had been made to assume his name and title is well known—it is a rare instance of magnanimity shown under such circumstances.

In the year 1488 the Court celebrated the feast of Whitsuntide at Shene, when the Princess Anne of York, the fifth daughter of Edward IV. (in the following year married to Thomas Lord Howard, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Surrey), joined the Royal circle.[20]

Erasmus visited England in the year 1491, and entered into a warm friendship with More, Grocyn, Linacre, Latimer, Colet, and other eminent scholars. Through the influence of his pupil, Lord Mountjoy, he was introduced at Court, and hunted with the lords, and kissed the ladies in attendance. While staying with Lord Mountjoy at his mansion, near Greenwich, More took him to the King's palace at Eltham, where he had an opportunity of seeing the children of Henry VII. pursuing their studies; except Prince Arthur, who was elsewhere. As Erasmus understood no modern language but his native Dutch, of course there could be no communication except through an

[20] Leland's "Collectanea," 245.

interpreter. To the astonishment, however, of the illustrious scholar, he received during dinner a brief Latin epistle from Prince Henry. It took Erasmus three days to frame a reply, which was an elaborate compliment in verse to Henry VII. and to every member of his family. Skelton, who had then the direction of the Prince's studies, received in the poem a liberal amount of praise. This incident must, however, have occurred at a subsequent visit.

May-day in the year 1492 was kept here, in a manner worthy of its popularity as a festival. In addition to the customary sports in which Henry VII., his Queen, and Court joined with great zest, there were pageants of the most imposing description, and joustings that were continued during the entire month. Prince Arthur was six years of age at this period, and was no doubt permitted to view the attractive spectacle that was every day produced before the palace. The chief feature in the tournament was a duel between two gentlemen of the Court—one a knight, Sir James Parker, and the other a member of the Royal household. It arose out of a disputed claim to armorial bearings, which garter king-of-arms had allowed Hugh Vaughan, one of the gentlemen ushers. The King appears so far to have favoured Parker, that he forbade Vaughan to use such bearings; this, however, did not end the controversy, and his Majesty permitted the disputants to fight. The lists having been prepared on the green facing the palace, and the Court having taken their places as spectators, Parker and Vaughan,

with the customary ceremonial, rode fully armed into the arena. At the sound of the trumpets the knights put their spears in rest, and rushed at each other, when the weapon of the gentleman usher struck his opponent's helmet with such force that the fastening gave way, and the point entered the mouth, driving the tongue through the back of his skull. His death was instantaneous.

In the ninth year of his reign, Dec. 31, 1494, the King found it necessary to establish new rules for the government of the Royal household,[21] which he directed should be kept "in most straightest wise." All knights and esquires of the body, while at Court, were to give proper attendance on his Highness; one to be nightly at his cupboard marking, and serve him for "all night," and he, with others, to lie on the pallet; for the first neglect they are to be punished by the Lord Chamberlain, for the second imprisoned, for the third discharged. No servant of such knights or esquires were to enter the King's chamber with any of their array (apparel), but were to give it to a page at the door. The ushers were to be strict in keeping the door, that no unauthorized person be admitted. When the King sits in state in the hall, to take spice and wine, the gentleman usher was to bring the King's spice-plate, and an esquire of the body was to have charge of the King's cup, and the other cups for the more distinguished members of the company to be

[21] Printed from a copy preserved among the Harleian MSS. by the Society of Antiquaries. "Ordinances and Regulations," 109.

ready when the King came from even-song, and set in order of precedence in the cupboard. Then the three greatest personages having been selected by the Chamberlain, the towel is first kissed by him, and given to one; the contents of the spice-plate, having been assayed, is given to the second; the wine-cup is filled, and given to the third, and they proceed together to the King. Then the Chamberlain uncovers the spice-plate, and gives assay to the bearer, who holds the cover till the King has partaken of the contents; then the cup-bearer also assays, and gives the King to drink. The Queen and the King's relatives were to be similarly served, as well as the prelates and great personages present.

State was kept in the great chamber with much ceremony; the Queen was to sit alone, and no one was to sit on the King's right hand, but a bishop, every one having his or her own carver and cup-bearer; the Queen's to bear their "neck towels," but no others. The King was to make a beck to the bishop when he intended to wash, and to every person of distinction at the board; and when all had washed, two yeomen of the crown were to take up the board and set it aside. Especial directions are then given for the sitting of all dukes, earls, and barons. No knights are to sit in the King's chamber, except when employed to serve the King with water, which, on state days, must be done by a baron. The other attendants are then directed where they are to sit at board. Minute instructions are next given for serving the King in his great

chamber, and for attending him in his processions. Afterwards follow twenty-one questions with their answers, respecting the Royal dignity. One or two examples may suffice:—

"Whether in the same feast the Queen's cloth of estate shall hang as high as the King's, or no? Answer thereunto: The Queen's shall hang lower by the vallance.

"The King and the Queen in the same feast being in their estates, who shall sit at their boards? Answer thereunto: A bishop and a duke, or two earls on the King's side, if so be they be nigh of the blood Royal; and a duchess and a countess on the Queen's side, and also a baroness, if such be near of the blood Royal."

The directions for setting the King's board state that the "board must be on the left hand, for ever where the bed's-head is, and the chimney must be at the upper end of it, where the bishop must sit, and the Queen on the other side of the King—there is no other choice; and there, as the bishop sits, must the attendant lay the surnap for the King to wash with; and, if it please the King, he may command the attendance of two lords and two ladies, or one of each, if the room be large enough for a mess of meat; and the King is to sit at the nether end of the board; and when meat is done the King is to be served with water by himself, the Queen by herself, and the bishop by himself, all three basins covered; and a basin and ewer, if there be another mess, at the board's-end—an esquire holding it (the basin and ewer) till the King and Queen have washed; then the King to give a beck, and then shall they wash."

Any of the Royal family dining in state in the hall

or great chamber, at the head of the board, to be served like the King. The King's sewar, with the esquires, are to go down in the kitchen, and fetch the King's meat; and the usher is to go to the ewer-board, and say, "Give me a towel that the King shall wash with;" then he is to lay it on his shoulder, and take it to the King's chamber, to the person appointed to bear it to the King. The carver is to see assays taken of bread, salt, and trenchers, to cut a trencher in assays, and take them to the sewar. The ceremony of laying the cloth is thus described :—

"The sewar shall lay the surnap on the board-end, whereas the bread and salt standeth, and lay forth the end of the same surnap and towel; then the usher should fasten his rod in the foresaid surnap and towel, and so drawing it down the board, doing his reverence afore the King, till it pass the board-end a good way; and there the sewar, kneeling at the end of the board, and the usher at the other, stretching the said surnap and towel, and so the usher to lay up the end of the towel well on the board, and rise, going before the King, doing his reverence to the King on the same side the surnap be gone upon, and on that side make an estate with his rod; and then going before the King doing his reverence, and so make another estate on the other side of the King; and so going to the board's-end again, kneel down to amend the towel, that there be no wrinkles save the estates; and then the usher, doing his due reverence to the King, going right before the King with his rod, the side of the same towel there as the basin shall stand, and doing his reverence to the King, to go to the board's-end again. And when the King hath washed, to be ready with his rod to put up the surnap, and meet the sewar against the King, and then the sewar to take it up."

The wages do not appear to have been on a very liberal scale, if we are to judge of the payment made to the sergeant-purveyor of wood, rushes, and litter for

the chamber, who received a gallon of ale, three candles, and sevenpence half-penny wages, two cloth robes in the year, a penny a day for bread, and a mess of meat in the kitchen. His yeoman was allowed twopence a day.

Special arrangements were made for the King's apparel. For the four great festivals he is to wear either purple or red velvet; at All Holland tide, at Even-song, he is to leave off his mantle, and wear his surcoat with a furred hood about his neck; "he must change within his traverse when they begin Placebo," to a robe of blue, his kirtle, his surcoat, his mantle and his furred hood, and his cap of estate of blue furred, which garments the chamberlain is to warn the usher to warn the yeoman of the robes to bring, and an esquire of the body must make ready the King; and thus the King must come on all solemn days to matins, and to mass, and often in the same array, and the chamberlain is to bear his train. These regulations were implicitly followed, at Shene.

On the morning of new year's day, the King, when he cometh to his foot-sheet, an usher of the chamber is to be ready at the door and say, "there is a new year's gift come from the Queen;" then the King shall say, "sir, let it come in;" then the usher shall let in the messenger with the gift, and subsequently the servants of persons of the highest distinction, and all lords and ladies, according to their precedence, while the King sits in his foot-sheet. Then the chamberlain is to send

for the treasurer of the chamber, and direct him to give the messenger, who brought the Queen's present, if he be a knight ten marks, if an esquire eight, or a hundred shillings; those from the King's relations are to have six marks, from dukes and duchesses five, and from earls and countesses forty shillings. The Queen is also to sit in her foot-sheet, and receive gifts in the same manner, paying a less reward.

On this day the King is to wear his kirtle, his surcoat, and his pane of arms; and if the latter be five ermines deep, that worn by a duke must be four, by an earl three. The King is to have his hat of estate on his head, his sword borne before him, with the chamberlain, steward, treasurer, comptroller preceding the sword and the ushers; before whom must walk all the other lords except those who wear the robes, who must follow the King. The highest nobleman in rank, or the King's brother, if present, to lead the Queen; another of the King's brothers, or else the Prince, to walk with the King's train-bearer. The same arrangement is to be observed at the feast following new year's day, candlemas day, midsummer day, the assumption of our lady, and the nativity; on twelfth day the King is to go crowned, in his royal robes, kirtle, and surcoat, his furred hood about his neck, and his ermines upon his arms, of gold set full of rich stones with balasses, sapphires, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. This ornament was considered so sacred, that "no temporal man" (none of the laity) but the King was to presume to touch it; an esquire of the body was to bring it in a fair hand-

kerchief, and the King was to put it on with his own hands; he must also have his sceptre in his right hand, the ball with the cross in his left hand, and the crown on his head, and must offer at the altar gold, silver, and incense, which offering the dean of the chapel is to send to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and this is to entitle the dean to the next vacant benefice. The King is to change his mantle when going to meat, and to take off his hood and lay it about his neck, clasping it before with a rich *owche*. The King and Queen on twelfth night are to take the *void* (evening repast), in the hall; as for the wassail, the steward and treasurer are to come for it, bearing their staves; the chapel choir to stand on the side of the hall, and when the steward came in at the hall door he was to cry three times, "Wassail! Wassail! Wassail!" and the chapel to answer with a good song; and when all was done the King and Queen were to retire to their chamber.

The making of the King's bed was a state ceremony of the highest importance: a yeoman or groom of the wardrobe was to bring in "the stuff;" and the curtains of the bed were to be drawn by a gentleman usher, holding those at the side and those at the feet—two esquires for the body standing at the bed's head on each side, and two yeomen of the crown at the bed's feet on either side; then all the stuff was to be laid fairly down at the foot of the bed on a carpet, before the yeoman of the stuff—and a yeoman of the crown, or one of the chamber, was to keep on the bed and roll it up and down and assay the litter; next a yeoman was to

lay down convas at the foot of the bed, shake the litter, and lay on the canvas; then to lay on the feather bed and beat it well to make it even; after this the yeoman of the stuff was to take a fustian and take the assay and cast it upon the bed; then esquires of the body were to lay it straight without wrinkles, and to place the sheet in the same manner, tucking in the sheet and fustian by the border, under the feather-bed, at both sides and at the feet; the other sheet was to be placed with the same care, the esquires being directed to gather it in their hands on either side, and go to the head of the bed and strike it down once or twice as they return to the foot, and to shake the sheet at the feet, and lay it abroad on the bed. An over-fustian came next, above which was to be laid a pair of ermines, and the bed was to be rolled down the space of an ell. Now the yeomen are to take the pillows and beat them well with their hands, and cast them up to the esquires, and let them lay them on as it pleaseth the King best, high or low; a head sheet of Rennes is to be laid thereon on one side of the sheet under the pillows, and a head sheet of ermine is to be laid above the pillows, on the other side of the sheet over all. The esquires are then directed to lay up the bed again on the pillows, and to take a sheet of Rennes and cover the bed over and over on every side; after which the usher is to knit together the curtains, and an esquire of the body to cast holy water on the bed. Finally, the esquires, the ushers, and all others that were at the making of the bed, are to go without the traverse and

there to eat and drink together, bread, ale and wine.

The stuff for the Queen's bed—which was to be made in the same manner—consisted of two pairs of sheets of Rennes, four breadths, and five yards long, two long pillows, and two squares of fustian stuffed with fine down; every pillow two bares of Rennes, a pane of scarlet furred with ermine, and bordered with velvet or cloth of gold, a head-sheet of like cloth similarly furred, a counter (counterpane) of fine lawn, of five breadths, and six yards long, a hinder (under) sheet of the same lawn, four breadths, and five yards long. The stuff for the pallet-bed comprised a bolster of fine down, a mattress stuffed with wool, two long, and four short pillows, for every pillow two bares, a pair of fustian of six breadths and five yards long, two pairs of sheets of Rennes of four breadths and five yards long, two head-sheets of Rennes of two breadths and four yards long, a pane of scarlet furred with ermine, bordered with blue velvet or cloth of gold, a head-sheet of like colour furred with ermine, a coverture of fine lawn of five breadths and six yards long, and a head-sheet of the same lawn of four breadths, and five yards long, "a sperne" of crimson satin, embroidered with crowns of gold, the Queen's arms, and other devices, and lined with double tartaran, garnished with fringe of silk and gold, blue and russet, with a round ball of silver and gilt, and four cushions covered with silver damask on cloth of gold. To these articles were added a round mantle of crimson velvet, plain, furred with ermine, for the Queen to wear about her in her pallet.

In the Christmas of 1497, while the Royal family were at Shene, a fire broke out in the palace on the evening of the 21st of December, which, for three hours, raged fiercely, destroying, with the fairest portion of the building, the rich furniture, beds, tapestry, and other decorations of the principal chambers. Fortunately the alarm was given in time, and the Royal and noble personages of the Court were removed to a place of safety. When the conflagration had ceased, the Manor-house was found to be no longer habitable. The Queen, who had passed some of the happiest days of her childhood within its walls and gardens, must have regarded the ruin with profound regret; this, however, passed away when she found the King intent on rebuilding the edifice on a scale of splendour that was to throw into the shade its former pretensions as a Royal residence.

It appears to have taken nearly three years in the course of construction, and was built in a style externally totally different from the old Manor-house. The moat was filled up, and a palace raised on the site, having a commanding gate-house by way of entrance from the green, opening upon a quadrangle surrounded by buildings which extended to the river, where it presented an imposing elevation, in the Tudor style of architecture—an array of turrets, surmounted by weathercocks, tall chimneys, and high windows, being among the principal features. An important addition was a gallery, which, however, had scarcely been completed, when it tumbled down only a short time after

the King and Prince of Wales had left it. It was shortly rebuilt, and the King desired that the place should bear henceforth his hereditary title—consequently Shene was styled Richmond, and the new building Richmond Palace; but the eastern division of the district retained its Anglo-Saxon appellation, which it still bears.

An event of unusual gravity occurred about this time, which created much consternation among the residents of Richmond, including the King and the Court. It is thus chronicled by the continuator of Fabian:—"And in the end of March was the Prior of the Charter House of Shene sinfully murdered, with another monk of the same place, by sinister means of a monk of the same place, named Goodwyn, and other mischievous persons." Incidents of a more pleasing character soon afterwards took place at Richmond, that gave the Court affairs of deeper interest to talk about.

The commencement of the year 1502 found Richmond full of excitement, and thronged by a brilliant company. Negotiations had for some time been in progress for the marriage of Margaret, the King's eldest daughter, then but thirteen, with James, King of Scotland, who was more than double her age; they were brought to a conclusion in the Royal Palace at Richmond, by a treaty there signed on the 24th of January;[22] and, on the following day, a public recognition of the act was performed before all the principal

[22] "Rymeri Fœdera," v. 165.

nobles of England and the Scottish ambassadors. After the King, Queen, and the Royal children, except Prince Arthur, who was absent with his Court at Ludlow,[23] had heard mass in the chapel, the company proceeded to the Queen's great chamber, where the Earl of Surrey explained the important business for which they had been called together. The commission was then read by Dr. Rowthall, the King's secretary; which was followed by the Pope's Bull, containing a dispensation for consanguinity. Then a proper answer having been given to a question proposed by the Archbishop of Glasgow, if any impediment existed, the King in turn demanded of the Scottish Commissioners whether any existed on the other side. The reply having been satisfactory, the Archbishop asked the Princess if she were content, and was answered, "If it pleased her parents." The King assured her that she had their blessing; and the Archbishop read the form of betrothal. "That done the trumpets, standing on the leads at the chamber end, blew up, and the loud noise of minstrels played in the best and most joyful manner."[24]

The youthful Queen of Scots, as the Princess was henceforth styled, was led by her mother to dine at her own table, while her father entertained his distinguished Scottish and English guests. There was afterwards a grand tournament, at which the magnificent armour and skilful equitation of the Duke of Buckingham

[23] He died soon afterwards.

[24] From an account of the ceremony written by Clarencieux, King-at-Arms, preserved in the miscellaneous collection in the College of Arms; quoted in "Lives of the Princesses," iv. 63.

won golden opinions from the spectators. All the combatants appear to have distinguished themselves; a great incentive to emulation being no doubt a desire, on the part of the English and Scottish knights, to exhibit their skill rather than their nationality on this fusion of the two Royal families; but the ostensible cause of the conflicts was to do honour to the young Queen. When the jousting was concluded a grand banquet followed. The dinner being then served at ten o'clock in the morning, the nobles, knights, and ladies had ample time to get a fresh appetite; and feasting and drinking, varied by amusements of various kinds, were kept up till a late hour.

The next day the Queen of Scots appeared in state robes in the Queen's great chamber, and the principal officer of arms gave thanks, in her name, to the gallant jousters of the preceding day. This was followed by a pageant representing an illuminated building, out of the windows of which stepped several pairs of Morris dancers, as well as six gentlemen, and six gentlewomen disguised, who danced several dances. After which came a second feast. The next day the tournament was resumed with the same spirit and splendid display of armour and apparel; and at the conclusion the Earl of Bothwell, King James's procurator, offered his state robe and a hundred crowns as a reward to the English heralds. Henry, however, who knew his son-in-law's poverty, made them decline the money, though he gave to Lion, the Scottish King-at-Arms, his own robe with a hundred crowns. There was, of course, "a great

and noteable banquet" after these proceedings; indeed, the festivities, considering King Henry's alleged parsimony, were maintained with extraordinary profusion, to the intense enjoyment, not only of those persons who were privileged to share in them, but to the thronging thousands who had been attracted to Richmond to witness the important and interesting ceremony, and who contrived ways and means to enjoy themselves, after their fashion, in the hostels, and other places of entertainment in the neighbourhood.

The youthful Queen of Scots remained with her parents till after her mother's decease; when, all arrangements having been seen to by her careful father, she left Richmond Palace on the 27th of June, attended by the King and a splendid retinue, composed of all the most distinguished people about the Court. A long and interesting account of the ceremonies that attended the young Queen's departure from Richmond, till her arrival in Scotland, was drawn up by John Jones Somerset, herald, who had been appointed by King Henry to join her escort,[25] of which the Earl of Surrey was the head, after the King parted from his daughter at Colley Wetton, in Northamptonshire, where his mother, Margaret, of Richmond, resided. This journal, however, has recently been so freely made use of,[26] that the reader must be sufficiently familiar with the writer's somewhat verbose descriptions.

[25] Leland's "Collectanea," iv. 260.

[26] First by Mrs. Everett Green, in her maiden work, "Lives of the Princesses;" and subsequently by Miss Strickland, in her "Lives of the Queens of Scotland."

King Henry VII. had quitted Richmond Palace on the 4th of November, 1501, to meet the Princess Katherine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand II., King of Spain, who had just landed in England; and being joined by his eldest son, Prince Arthur, at East Hampstead, proceeded to Dogmersfield, where the Princess and her Spanish retinue awaited their arrival. They met on the 6th of the month, and, after a pleasant interview, proceeded together to Chertsey, where the King possessed a residence; the following day they passed through Kingston, where they were joined by the Duke of Buckingham, with four hundred mounted gentlemen, who escorted the party on their way to Kennington, where the Princess was lodged with her attendants in the palace, while the King returned to the Queen at Richmond, where they remained till the 10th; when, preparations being in progress for the marriage, they went to London, and the ceremony took place at St. Paul's, on the 14th, with great state. It was followed by a grand tilting match at Westminster, banquets, and pageants."[27] The bride and bridegroom—the one not quite sixteen, the other but two months over fifteen—left London, and took their way to the Principality, where they held their Court, as Prince and Princess of Wales, at Ludlow Castle—a rule destined to be brief, for the youthful husband died there of the plague on the 2nd of the following April, scarcely six months after his nuptials. The young widow was

[27] A detailed account of these festivities will be found in Miss Strickland's biography of Katherine of Arragon, "Queens of England," ii.

immediately sent for by the Queen, and the palace at Croydon was allowed her as a residence. Here, with occasional visits to the Court, she appears to have passed her time, it is sáid, somewhat straitened in circumstances, pending the future disposal of her person; for her father, under the circumstances, refused to pay the half of her dower of 200,000 crowns left unpaid; and her husband's father, in consequence, was equally averse to her receiving her portion as the widow of the Prince of Wales. All parties were, however, satisfied by a new arrangement; and the widow on the 25th of June, 1504, was betrothed to Prince Henry, her late husband's younger brother. The Princess of Wales removed to Richmond Palace, whence she wrote to Spain moving complaints against her father's resident ambassador for not looking more sharply after her interest.[28] The two Kings could not agree about the dowry, and it is possible the Princess suffered in a pecuniary way; but as she was permitted to retain her jewels, valued at 33,000 crowns, she could not have been so impoverished as she represents. That she was treated with kindness is evident from her acknowledgment that she asked to come to Richmond, and the King allowed her apartments at the palace.

Here the Princess of Wales remained till about the commencement of the year 1506, when her sister, Joanna, Queen of Castile, with her husband, Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian, on their way

[28] Her correspondence has been translated and edited by Mrs. Everett Green—"Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," vol. i., 120.

to Spain, were forced to take shelter at Plymouth from a storm on the western coast of England, and, having landed, were invited by the King to visit him at Windsor Castle. The Princess met her sister and brother-in-law at Windsor, and, after a private entertainment, returned to Richmond; and the Queen of Castile proceeded to Plymouth on the 12th of February to re-embark for her Spanish dominions; but, in consequence of unfavourable winds, did not set sail till April. The Princess availed herself of this opportunity to send a pitiful appeal to her father; for she had run into debt, and, as she states, had been obliged to sell some bracelets to obtain a new dress, and was nearly in a state of nudity. The letter is dated from Richmond, the 22nd of April, 1506. There is very little doubt that the writer greatly exaggerated the inconvenience brought upon her by the withholding of the moiety of her dowry by her father, for neither the King of Spain nor his ambassador heeded her complaints. She had been more than four years in England; yet, according to her statement, she had not learnt the language of the country.[29] The Princess wrote again from Richmond on the 8th of December, but says nothing about her poverty; the purport of her communication to King Ferdinand being to obtain for the son of her physician a benefice in Castile.[30]

In the month of July the Princess of Wales wrote two letters to King Ferdinand, that betray a portion of her character for which her previous communications

[29] Wood's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," i., 140.
[30] Ibid., 142.

ought to have prepared every reader of ordinary comprehension. To ingratiate herself with Henry VII. she affected a most filial desire to forward his wishes with respect to certain negotiations then in progress; and, having written to her father, in accordance with these impressions, wrote privately to King Ferdinand another letter of a totally opposite tendency.[31] The elaborate finish of these artful epistles would have done credit to a Machiavelli. There is reason to believe that this double-dealing the Princess continued to practise long afterwards; for in her published letters passages occur in cypher that have baffled every attempt at explanation, and much of her correspondence exists in the archives of Simancas in Spain, principally in cypher.

Elizabeth of York—the heroine of Humphrey Brereton's ballad poem, "The most pleasant song of Lady Bessie," which has twice been edited within the last thirty years—was frequently at Richmond; indeed, numerous are the entries in the Queen's privy-purse expenses that record her goings and comings. Those relating to Richmond commence in the year 1502, and are in the following chronological order:—

1502.	£	*s.*	*d.*
March 28.—To the Queen's purse at Richmond	1	0	0
Delivered to John Goose,[32] my Lord of York's fool, in reward for bringing a carp. - - - - -	0	1	0

[31] Wood's Letters, 145.

[32] "Goose," "Patch," appear to have been the favourite soubriquets of these Court functionaries at this period. The admirers of folk-lore may thence learn the derivation of two favourite *morceaux*; the one probably addressed to the fool when he was in good

1502.	£	s.	d.
March 28.—To a minstrel that played upon a droon[33] before the Queen at Richmond, in reward - - -	0	3	4
„ To a servant of my Lady Neville, wife to Sir Thomas D'Arcy, in reward for bringing a present of sele[34] to the Queen at Richmond -	0	10	0
„ To John Walker, yeoman almoner, for money by him paid for a *cowle*[35] for water, 12*d*; for three new bowls, 12*d*.; for a bucket, 4*d*.; for flowers, 4*d*.; for heating of water at the kitchen, 12*d*.; and for carriage of the same stuff from London to Richmond, 4*d*.; for the Queen's Maunday upon Shirsthursday -	0	4	0
„ 29.—Delivered to a servant of the Prothonotary of Spain a reward, for bringing a present of oranges to the Queen at Richmond - - -			
„ To a poor man that brought a present of oranges and apples to the Queen at Richmond - - -	0	1	0

humour, the other when he was out of temper. The first is:—

"Goosey, goosey, gander, Where do you wander,
Upstairs, or downstairs, or in my lady's chamber."

The second:—

"Cross Patch, Mend your latch,
Call your neighbours in, sir."

The fool's master was most probably Henry Duke of York, afterwards Henry VIII.

[33] Sir Harris Nicolas, in his notes to "Privy-Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York," 193, states that this word means *drum;* and, according to another entry, a skilful performer on this instrument was much appreciated, for he received ten shillings. The drummers are styled *drombeslades* in "Henry the Eighth's Privy-Purse Expenses," 214-250.

[34] A seal. Henry VIII. gave 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. for one brought him alive, and sixteen shillings for another.—*Ibid.*, 37-46.

[35] A vessel to hold water, carried between two persons on a pole.

1502.	£	s.	d.
March 31.—To William Paston, page of the Queen's beds, in reward towards the buying of his wedding clothing	2	0	0
April 6.—To William Cromer, gentleman usher, for money by him delivered to the Queen, for her offering to the high altar, at Richmond, upon Easter-day, after the High Mass, in going her stations[36] - -	0	3	4
„ 8.—To Louis Walter, bargeman, for conveying the Queen's grace from Richmond to Greenwich, the 2nd day of April, in her barge, with twenty-one rowers, every rower taking 8*d.*—14*s.*; the master, 1*s.* 4*d.*; and the reward of a barge beneath the bridge, 1*s.* 4*d.* *Item*, a great boat and five rowers, the 4th day of April, conveying Mistress Brent from Hampton Court to London, by the space of two days, every rower at 8*d.* the day, 6*s.* 8*d.*; the master, two days, 2*s.* 8*d.*, and the reward of the same boat, 2*s.* -	1	8	0
„ 19.—To Richard Justice, page of the robes, for his costs going from Richmond to London, to my Lord the Queen's Chamberlain, 12*d.* *Item*, for a reward given to men that drew the Queen's barge at her going to Hampton Court, 8*d.* *Item*, paid for the hemming of a kirtle of the Queen's of damask, 4*d.* *Item*, for his costs, being behind at Richmond with stuff of the Queen's, by space of three days, at 8*d.* the day, 2*s.* - - - - - -	0	4	0

[36] Sacred edifices of particular sanctity, pilgrimages to which formed a duty that might be performed by proxy.

1502.		£	s.	d.
May 10.	—To John Brown, groom of the beds, for his costs being behind at Richmond with stuff of the Queen's, at her departing from thence, by the space of two days, at 10*d.* the day, 1*s.* 8*d.*; and for his costs going from the Tower of London to Richmond, to prepare the Queen's lodging there against the coming thither of the ambassador of Hungary, and there being six days, 5*s.*, and for his costs going from Greenwich to London, 2*s.* - -	0	6	10
„ 12.	—To Edmund Burton and Nicholas Wyberne, for their costs going from Richmond to Hampton Court, to Mistress Brent, for the space of two days, at 12*d.* the day, 4*s.* *Item*, paid for the breakfast of Mistress Lee, at Richmond, 9*d.* - -	0	4	9
„ 21.	—For the offering of the Queen upon the first of Trinity, at Richmond -	0	5	0
„ 23.	—To Robinet, embroiderer, in reward	0	13	4
„	To the Queen's purse, by the hands of Mistress Eleanor Johnes, at Richmond - - - - -	1	0	0
„	To Stephen Higham, for certain stuff by him made for the Queen, 10*s.* *Item*, for money by him paid for the boat-hire of the Lady Lovel from Richmond to Greenwich, 2*s.* 4*d.*, and for going from Richmond to London, to Dr. Lathe's, 12*d.* -	0	13	4
„	To a servant of the Abbess of Syon, in reward for bringing a present of rabbits and quails to the Queen to Richmond - - - -	0	2	0

1522.		£	*s.*	*d.*
May 25.	—To Edmund Calvert, page of the Queen's chamber, for his costs going, by the commandment of the Queen, from Richmond to London, to William Stafford, for divers stuff for the King, in the night, 2*s.* *Item,* for going from Greenwich to London for Master Lynch, 1*s.* *Item,* for going from Richmond to London to Mistress Locke, for bonnets for the Queen, 8*d.* *Item,* for going from Greenwich to London for Mistress Stafford and Mistress Lees, 6*d.* *Item,* for money by him paid for eggs, butter, and milk for the King and Queen, 3*s.* 6*d.*, and for riding from Greenwich to Croydon to the Princess, 8*d.* - - -	0	8	4
„	For the offering of the Queen at Corpus Christi, at Richmond -	0	5	0
„	To a servant of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in reward for bringing a present of a Lanthony cheese to the Queen at Richmond - -	0	2	0
„	28.—To John Johnson, surgeon, in reward for his costs coming from London to the Queen, to Richmond - - - - -	0	13	4
„	29.—To Louis Walter, the 19th day of May, conveying the Queen from Greenwich to Richmond, with twenty-one rowers, at 8*d.* the rower, 8*s.*, and the master, 1*s.* 4*d.* *Item,* a great boat the same day conveying the ladies and gentlemen from Greenwich, with nine rowers, at 8*d.* the rower, 6*s.*, and the master, 1*s.* 4*d.* - - - -	1	2	8

1502.		£	s.	d.
May 30.	—To John Stormy, of Chertsey, in reward for keeping of two palfreys of the Queen's, after the decease of Richard Payne, palfreyman - -	0	10	0
„	*Item*, for carriage of divers gowns of the Queen's from the Tower to Richmond, 1*s.* 6*d.*, and for carriage of the same gowns from Greenwich to the Tower, 4d. - - - -	0	1	10
„	To the Queen's purse, by the hands of George Hamerton, of Richmond - - - - - -	1	0	0
June 1.	—To Thomas Ackworth, for the expenses of the Queen's stable -	58	5	4
„ 2.	—To a servant of the Prior of Lanthony, in reward for bringing a present of cheeses to the Queen -	0	5	0
„ 3.	—To a servant of Richard Smith, in reward for bringing a fawn from the park at Swallowfield to the Queen to Richmond - - -	0	3	4
„ 4.	—To the Queen's purse at Richmond, by the hands of Mistress Eleanor Johnes and John Brown - -	1	0	0
„ 6.	—To Nicholas Grey, clerk of the works at Richmond, in reward to him given by the Queen towards such losses as he sustained by the burning of his house at Richmond	3	0	0
„ 9.	—*Item*, delivered to the Queen's purse by the hands of Christopher Askue at Richmond - - - -	40	0	0
„ 13.	—To the Queen's purse at Richmond, by the hands of Mistress Eleanor Johnes - - - - -	1	0	0

1502.		£	s.	d.
June 13.	—To Thomas Shirley, for money by him delivered for the offering of the Queen to our Lady of Piewe, 5*s.*; for milk at Richmond, 3*d.*; and to a poor man, in alms, sometime being a servant of King Edward IV., 1*s.* 8*d.* - - - -	0	2	4
„	To Thomas Barton, footman to the Queen, for money by him given, in alms, by the commandment of the Queen, in her journeying from Richmond to Windsor - - -	0	3	4
June 19.	—To Louis Walter, the Queen's bargeman, for conveying the Queen from Richmond to Westminster, the 6th day of June, in his barge, with twenty-two rowers, every rower taking 8*d.*—14*s.* 8*d.*, and the master, 1*s.* 4*d.* *Item*, a great boat and eight rowers, the 11th day of June, conveying the Queen from Westminster to Richmond, 5*s.* 4*d.*, the master, 1*s.* 4*d.*, and the reward of the boat, 1*s.* *Item*, the Queen's barge, with twenty-two rowers, conveying the ladies and gentlewomen from Westminster to Richmond, 14*s.* 8*d.*, and the master, 1*s.* 1*d.* - -	1	19	8
July 2.	—To Edward Calver, page of the Queen's chamber, for a pair of shoes for the Queen's fool, 6*d.* *Item*, for a great basket for the Queen's stuff, 6*d.* *Item*, for going from Richmond to London, by the Queen's commandment, by the space of two days, of divers errands, 1*s.* 4*d.* - - - -	0	2	4

1502.	£	s.	d.
July 4. — To Thomas Woodant and John Field, waiting upon the Queen's jewels, from Richmond to Greenwich, at 6*d.* the day, 1*s.* *Item*, from Greenwich to Richmond, at 6*d.* the day, 1*s.*, and from Richmond to Windsor for one day, 1*s.* - -	0	3	0
,, 13.—To John Duffin, for his costs riding from Richmond to Westminster, for the Queen's confessor, on Trinity Sunday evening, and for delivering of a book of the Queen's to the Abbot of Westminster - - -	0	1	4
,, 23.—To Richard Justice, page of the robes, for his costs going from Richmond to London, for a gown of cloth of gold, furred with pawmpilyon, against Corpus Christi day, by the space of two days, every day 8*d.*—1*s.* 4*d.* *Item*, for boat-hire for the same gown, 1*s.* *Item*, for going from Richmond to London, for the making of a gown of crimson satin, by the space of two days, at 8*d.* the day, 1*s.* 4*d.* *Item*, for going from Westminster to Richmond for six gowns of the Queen's, by the space of one day, 8*d.* *Item*, for boat-hire for the same gowns from Richmond to Westminster, and from Westminster to Richmond again, 2*s.* - - - - -	0	6	4
August 4.—To Robert Allen, for his costs preparing lodging for the Queen, from Richmond to Westminster, by the space of three days, at 1*s.* - -	0	3	0

1502.		£	s.	d.
August 4.	—To the aforesaid Robert Allen, for his costs preparing lodging for the Queen from Richmond to Greenwich, the last day of March, by the space of two days, and from thence to the Tower of London, the 27th day of April, by the space of two days, that is to wit, for four days, at 1s. - - - - -	0	4	0
„	15.—To John Brown, groom of the Queen's bed, for carrying of certain stuff from Baynard's Castle to Richmond, when the ambassadors of Hungary were there, 3*s.* 4*d.* *Item*, for his costs going from Richmond to London to Mistress Stafford, by the Queen's commandment, by the space of three days, at 10*d.* the day, 2*s.* 6*d.* *Item*, at another time going from Richmond to London to Mistress Stafford, for Mistress Locke, for the space of two days, at 10*d.* the day, 1*s.* 8*d.* *Item*, for his costs going from Richmond to Baynard's Castle, for bringing up the bed of a Tournay, by the Queen's commandment, 4*d.* *Item*, for a hamper to carry in pippins for the Queen, 6*d.* *Item*, for his costs riding to the Earl of Northumberland, by the space of a day, 10*d.*, and for his costs riding to the Lord of Arundel, by the space of three days, 2*s.* 6*d.* - -	2	0	8
„	To Thomas Woodant and John Field, grooms of the Queen's chamber, for their costs waiting upon the Queen's jewels from Richmond to Windsor, from Windsor to Wycombe, from Wycombe to Notley, from Notley	0	6	0

1502.	£	s.	d.
to Bostale, from Bostale to Woodstock, from Woodstock to Langley, by the space of six days, either of them at 6*d.* the day - - -			
August 21.—To Arnold Chollerton, for his costs preparing lodging for the Queen from Greenwich to Richmond, by the space of two days, at 1*s.* the day, 2*s.* *Item,* to the same Arnold, for his costs preparing lodging for the Queen from Richmond to Windsor, by the space of two days, at 1*s.* the day, 2*s.* - -	0	4	0
Sept. 28.—To John Weredon, for his costs preparing lodging from Richmond to Ragland, and from Ragland to Langley, by the space of twenty days, at 1*s.* - - - -	1	0	0
Oct. 25.—To the Queen's purse at Richmond, by the hands of Mistress Brent - - - - -	2	0	0
„ To a poor woman, who brought a present of apples from Hounslow to the Queen at Richmond - -	0	1	8
„ To a servant of the Abbot of Obourne, for bringing a present of woodcocks to the Queen to Richmond - -	0	3	4
„ 31.—To Ellis Hilton, for carrying certain stuff of the wardrobe of the beds by water from Richmond to Baynard's Castle - - -	0	1	2

Subsequent entries in the same year record the payment of two days' journey from Richmond to Westminster, to Robert Allen, and of eight days' journey to

the custodians of the Queen's jewels from Langley to Richmond, and from Richmond to Westminster. The Queen's barge, with twenty rowers, was employed by the Queen, on the 22nd of October, with the customary great boat for the retinue, to transfer the latter from Richmond to Westminster; and Arnold was paid the usual expenses for preparing lodging for the Queen in going from Windsor to Richmond, at the end of November. In the middle of December, after numerous items of expenditure for young horses, occurs the following, "for carting of a dunghill at the Queen's stable at Ham, 2*s*." On the 23rd of December a servant of Sir John Seymour received 6*s*. 8*d*. for bringing five does to the Queen at Richmond; the domestic belonging to the King's chamberlain the same sum for six does, and the keeper of another park obtained ten shillings for bringing ten does. Probably the Queen was desirous that the park at Richmond should be well stocked with deer.

The Queen commenced the year 1503 with an offering upon the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, at Richmond, where, on the 5th of January, a servant of Morgan Kydwelles,[37] brought her Majesty a cheese, and received a gratuity of 3*s*. 4*d*.; while a poursuivant of the King's chamberlain obtained 10*s*. for bringing a present of oranges and comfits. On the 14th, the

[37] Sir Morgan Kydwelly was in the Queen's service, and received 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d* wages. Nicolas—"Privy-Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York," 101. He had been Attorney-general to Richard III. Ibid., 205.

Prior of Lanthony sent the Queen two baked lampreys, and his servant had a recompence of 5*s.*; the Abbess of Sion forwarded another present, and her domestic got 3*s.* 4*d.*; while a servant of Sir William Darrell got 10*s.* for bringing a courser. In the following month occur some entries of a certain number of crochettes and books received at Richmond when the Queen's grace returned from Wales; and Patch the Fool was rewarded with 6*s.* 8*d.* for bringing the Queen a present of pomegranates, oranges, and other fruit.

The Queen was fond of both hawking and hunting, and in her privy-purse expenses there are many items showing that her Majesty enjoyed these diversions at Richmond. The keeper of the Queen's goshawks and spaniels received 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for their meat, and for his own diet out of the Court, for one year.[38] And a groom of her beds obtained 9*s.* 2*d.* for riding into Wiltshire in search of hunters for the Queen.

The royal barge and the great boat were employed near the end of January 1503, transferring the Queen and her ladies from Richmond to Hampton Court, from Hampton Court to Richmond, and from Richmond to London; then followed the expense of lodging the Queen, when proceeding from Westminster to the Tower, from the Tower to Richmond, and from Richmond back to the Tower; other entries record the journeys of Henry Roper from Richmond to the Tower for five days, and subsequently from Richmond to London for

[38] Harris Nicolas—"Privy-Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York," 94.

two days, to bring the Queen's new year's gifts. The Queen was delivered of a daughter in the Tower on the 2nd of February, and expired there on the 11th of the same month, in her 38th year, to the great grief of the King, the Court, and the entire nation; Sir Thomas More wrote her elegy, but all England felt her loss; especially was the lamentation deep and fervent at Richmond, where the Queen had won the devotion of every heart.

At Richmond was signed the treaty of the King with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, which provided that the widow of Prince Arthur should be the wife of Prince Henry. It is dated the 23rd of June 1503; and on the previous year, at Westminster, a patent was issued, in which Henry is styled Prince of Wales, appointing him warden of the forest of Gualtres in Yorkshire,[39] two months after his brother's death. This arrangement between the sovereigns was sanctioned by Pope Julius II.

Though tournaments were employed to keep alive the chivalrous spirit of the nobles, yet complaints were made that the rising generation of courtiers were but indifferently educated.

"It is not honourable blood," observes, a few years later, one who had served King Henry too well for his own safety, "and great possessions, or rich apparel, that maketh the man honourable, himself being of unhonourable conditions; and the more honourable in blood that he is, the more noble in conditions he ought to be, and the more shame and dishonour it is to him to be

[39] "Rymer. Fœdera."

the contrary. And therefore, ye noblemen, for the better continuance of your blood in honour, set your children in youth, and that betimes, to learning virtue and cunning, and at the least bring them up in honour and virtue; for verily I fear me, the noblemen and gentlemen of England be the worst brought up, for the more part, of any realm in Christendom; and therefore the children of poor men and small folks are promoted to the promotion and authority that the children of noble blood should have, if they were meet therefore."[40]

The Court continued to wear costly apparel, as well as to enjoy costly amusements. The furred gown and cape characterised the general costume of respectable men of all classes of society; but the younger and gayer spirits chose to display short doublets with long sleeves, opening in the centre for the arms to pass through, tight-fitting vests cut low in the neck to display the shirt; the hose were divided at the knee like breeches, and large hats were worn with enormous plumes of feathers, their stems being handsomely enriched with jewels.[41] There was also a square cap in fashion among the seniors, which was sometimes worn with a long gown open from the neck to the waist, to display the vest beneath; the latter was frequently richly embroidered; it had full sleeves, and was bound at the waistwith a sash orgirdle.[42] The shoes werevery broad at

[40] "The Tree of Commonwealth." By Edmund Dudley. Written in the Tower when under sentence of death for high treason.

[41] "Romance of the Rose," Harleian MSS., No. 4425.

[42] Harleian MSS., 19., c. viii.

the toes, and the hair flowed down to the shoulders. The tilting armour of the period may be known by the rising *passe-gardes* on the shoulders to guard the neck, the broad toed *sollerets*, by the helmets called *burgonets*, with plates of steel overlapping the neck, and by the ridged breast-plate. A good example may be seen in the brass of Richard Gyll, serjeant of the bakehouse to Henry VII., in Shottesbroke church, Hampshire, who died in 1511.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century the ladies' head-dresses of caul and gauze still gave them an awkward appearance. Their principal extravagances were, however, necklaces and girdles—the former sometimes a heavy mass of jewels, almost covering the neck, and the end of the latter falling half way down the leg; while fur trimming on low cut bodies short in the waist, with narrow sleeves and wide cuffs, and long full skirts, prevailed.[43] In the reign of Henry VII., the hood with ornamented edges superseded the caul; there was also the diamond shaped head-dress, worn much at Court, as seen in the portraits of Margaret Countess of Richmond, (mother of the King), in the British Museum, and of Elizabeth his Queen, by Holbein, at Hampton Court. Although a sober style of apparel may have been encouraged by the elders of the Royal family, there is little doubt that the festivals held at Richmond Palace were anything but quaker-like in simplicity; a better taste was being developed, the first sign of which was

[43] See the effigy of Isabella Cheyne, in Blickling Church, Norfolk.

the abandonment of the unsightly head gear for both sexes, which had so long been in vogue, in various obnoxious shapes.

At the marriage of Prince Arthur, Sir Nicholas Vaux was dressed in a robe of purple velvet, so thickly covered with pieces of gold, that with the silk and fur trimmings it was valued at 1000*l.*; with it he wore a collar of SS. worth 800*l.*[44]

At the date of the will of the Countess of Richmond, 6th June, 1508, Charles Herbert, Lord Herbert of Gower and Chepstowe, natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, was chamberlain of the Royal household; he took the title of Herbert, having married Elizabeth, heiress of William Herbert Earl of Huntingdon, and was created Earl of Somerset. He held a high place in the King's favour, which is good testimony that his qualities were worthy of his position.[45]

The Treasurer of the Household was Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G. In the course of his long career he had held many appointments, rising from one of the

[44] Royal MSS., 16, f 2.

[45] He became eminent as a military commander, and subsequently was in great favour at the Court of Henry VIII., who also employed him as one of his ambassadors to the Court of France, to arrange a peace, and created him, 2nd February, 1514, Earl of Worcester. He was married three times, and had children by two of his wives. From him descends the present Duke of Beaufort. He died on the 15th of April, 1526; and having erected a chapel within the Royal chapel at Windsor, for his Countess, who predeceased him, was there buried under a magnificent monument.

esquires of the King's body to President of the Council. The confidence Henry VII. reposed in him was seen in his nomination as one of his executors.[46]

Sir John St. John, grandson of Sir Oliver St. John of Bletshoe, was Chamberlain; and Sir Hugh Ashton Comptroller of the Household.

On the 21st of April, 1509, the King breathed his last, in his palace at Richmond, after a prosperous reign of twenty-four years. He was only in his fifty-third year, therefore cannot be said to have lived the allotted term of man; but in his time he had contrived to do much for the country he had governed, both for good and for evil. Though in the latter portion of his life he is said to have been exacting, harsh, and covetous: his privy-purse expenses not only afford no evidence of this, but prove him to have been liberal, partial to amusements of every kind, and singularly benevolent—a kind husband and an affectionate parent. His way of life at Richmond was exemplary, much of his time being given to the society of learned and pious men, whose objects he cordially advanced; his administration of his kingly office was prudent and sagacious, and the abuses attributed to him may probably have often arisen from excessive zeal or lack of principle in the persons employed to carry out his measures.

Soon after his decease his body was taken from the

[46] He appears to have enjoyed quite as much favour with his successor, who appointed him constable of the Tower, surveyor of the court of wards, and steward and marshal of the household. He died at his mansion at Enfield, in the year 1528.

chamber in which he had died, to the great chamber of the palace, where, while it rested three days, in a hearse ornamented with banners and escutcheons, and surrounded by mourners, a bishop, with other priests in attendance, performed the service of the mass and *dirige* each day; then it was removed into the hall, with the same ceremony, for the same period; and then into the chapel. On the 9th of the month the body in a case was borne from Richmond in a car covered with black cloth of gold, that was drawn by seven stately horses caparisoned in black velvet, ornamented with gold escutcheons; over the enclosed corpse was a crowned effigy of the King in his robes, bearing in his hands the sceptre and globe, lying on embroidered cushions, surrounded with heraldic banners. A long procession of prelates, priests, officers, servants, and mourners preceded, and six of the King's henchmen and other attendants carrying six hundred torches, followed. In this state the royal dead was conveyed to London; and at St. George's Fields was met by a still larger procession, in which bishops and abbots figured prominently, with the Lord Mayor, aldermen and common council; and with impressive ceremonies it was conveyed to St. Paul's, and thence to its last resting-place in Westminster Abbey, incensed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. There, when the great assembly had taken their places, Garter king-at-arms cried, "For the soul of the noble Prince Henry VII., King of this realm," and the choir commenced *placebo*, and ended with *dirige*. The next day, with the same attendance

and state, the prelates sung three masses; at the last the banner and courser of the deceased, his vesture of arms, helmet, sword and target, were offered at the altar; the nobles afterwards offering palls of cloth of gold and baudekin. When the choir had sung "libera me," the royal corpse was placed in its proper receptacle; and the King's lord-treasurer, steward and chamberlain, as well as the treasurer and comptroller of the household, broke their staves of office into the grave, when Garter king-at-arms cried, "Vive le Roy le Huitesme, Roi d'Angleterre et de France, Sire d'Ireland!" Then the assembly separated, and the mourners and officers of the Royal household proceeded to the palace, where they partook of a grand banquet.[47]

Fabian concludes his chronicle with the following eulogy on Henry VII.:—

"This magnificent and excellent Prince, Henry VII., thus paying to death his debt of nature, the Saturday next before St. George's day, in the night, died at his Manor of Rychemount, of whom sufficient praise cannot be put into writing; considering the continued peace and tranquillity which he kept this his land and commons in, with also this subduing of his outward enemies of the realm of France and Scotland, by his great policy and wisdom, more than by shedding of Christian blood and cruel war, and overruled so mightily his subjects, and ministered to them such justice, that not alone they loved and dreaded him, but all Christian Princes, hearing of his glorious fame,

[47] "Lelandi Collectanea," iii., 303.

were desirous to have with him amity and alliance."

"What," he presently adds, "might I report of his excellent wisdom and most sugared eloquence, of his immoveable patience and wonderful discretion, or what should I tell of his most beautiful buildings, or exceeding changes of manifest reparations, and over all this of his exceeding treasure and riches innumerable."

The editor of Henry VII.'s will describes this monarch as living in his palace at Richmond, apparently with no other desire than that of amassing money, at the expense of his subjects; and states that the sum he left in his coffers could not have been less, according to his estimation, than 2,700,000*l.* sterling. The sum absolutely collected by the King in silver, then coined at the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* an ounce, was 1,800,000*l.*; wheat was then 5*s.* 8*d.* a quarter; and ale a little less than 3*d.* a gallon. This estimate, made in the year 1775, is evidently much below what it would be considered, if calculated in accordance with present values.

The King's will, as the preamble states, was made at his "Manor of Richmond," on the 31st of March, 1509, which was the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Among other things the King states that he had delivered into the hands of the Prior and Abbot of the monastery of Westminster the sum of 5,000*l.*, which, according to an instrument signed at Richmond on the 13th of April of the preceding year, was employed upon the chapel of that monastery.[48] After making pro-

[48] Abstracts from the several deeds granted to the community at

vision for the completion of this beautiful structure, and for his sepulture therein, he orders 2,000*l.* to be distributed in alms among the lame, the blind, the bedridden, the needy, and miserable prisoners condemned for debt, to pray for his soul; then he directs justice to be done to such persons as may have been wronged by him; he next enters upon arrangements for the foundation of certain religious houses and hospitals; afterwards come provisions for the repairing of highways, "our Manor of Richemount," among other places requiring a road, which is to be conveniently done, well and surely gravelled, and raised upon a good height, with such a breadth and largeness that two carts might pass the one by the other, or both together. Afterwards the faithful servants of the Crown are considered. Provision is made for finishing his new college at Cambridge, arrangements for which, it is said, were settled at Richmond by an instrument, dated the last day of March, of the previous year; then come bequests to the friars observants of Greenwich, Richmond, Canterbury, Southampton, and Newcastle, 200*l.*, and to the Charterhouses of London and Shene 40*l.* Further, the Royal testator states, that as these friars have assured him that they have often been in danger of ruin for want of food, he be-

Westminster are given in the appendix to Astle's edition of Henry VII.'s will, by which it will be seen how minute were the arrangements for carrying out the King's intentions. Among the several items we find, "To the Prior and Convent of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Shene, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"; and to the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Sion the same sum.

queaths 200*l.*, to be paid within six months of his decease, to the friars observants of Canterbury, to the Priory of the Charterhouse of London, and to the friars observants of Greenwich; to the Prior of the Charterhouse of Shene 500 marks, to the use and behoof of the convent of the friars observants of Richemount; 200*l.* are also bestowed on the friars at Southampton, the Prior of the Cathedral of St. Cuthbert of Durham, on the friars of Newcastle, and on the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral of Lincoln; for which the two houses at Greenwich and Richmond are to say 500 masses for the remission of his sins, and the good of his soul. Canterbury, Southampton, Newcastle, and Newark are to say 300 masses each, and the Charterhouse 200. Then follow directions for his tomb, and gifts of vestments, altar furniture, and plate for the chapel; afterwards comes a bequest to provide for the marriage of his daughter, Mary; and the document concludes with the nomination of the executors.

Printing had, by this time, so multiplied books, that a great impulse had been given to intelligence throughout the country, and the clergy could no longer boast of being the monopolists of learning. Laymen came forward as scholars and poets; and works exhibiting literary talent ceased to appeal exclusively to Court patronage, though Royal and noble patrons still remained the best friends of the author. English literature was in a transition state, preparing for the important movement in advance the next century would produce; but the love for romance in the higher circles had not yet

died out—it appeared in the volumes most in fashion. Nor were illuminated MSS. neglected; for several beautiful volumes were produced in this reign, that evinced the progress art had been making in Holland and Italy. The labour bestowed on such productions is described in a poem by Skelton, called "The Garland of Laurel":—

"With that of the book loosened were the clasps,
The margin was illumined all with golden rails,
And bees empictured with grasshoppers and wasps,
With butterflies and fresh peacock tails;
Enflowered with flowers and slimy snails,
Envivid pictures well touched; and quickly
It would have made a man whole that had been right sickly,
To behold how it was garnished and bound,
Encovered over with gold of tissue fine;
The clasps and buttons were worth a thousand pound;
With balasses and carbuncles the borders did shine,
With *aurum musicum* every other line
Was written."

Dramatic entertainments were daily growing into public favour. Miracle plays—dramatised events in scriptural history, and moralities—plays in which the characters were personified qualities—shared the attention of a Court audience with festival mumming, and other "disguisings," that were accompanied by a little dialogue. Towards the close of Henry VII.'s reign there were some performances of this kind at Kingston; and probably they found a place among the entertainments got up to amuse Philip King of Castile, and his Queen, in the year 1506, when the King took

him to Richmond, and caused to be held on the green a grand tournament in his honour, "where," according to Holinshed, "many notable feats of arms were proved both of tilt, tourney, and barriers."

The character of Henry VII. has been greatly misrepresented. He was a patron of literature, and literary men, when such patronage was most needed. He supported several scholars at the universities—he encouraged Pynson and other printers—he showed a decided taste in painting, when it was rare in this country; and laid out large sums in advancing the profession of architecture, Richmond Palace being but one of many noble structures raised at his expense. Astronomers, and physicians, discoverers of new countries, musicians, and inventors, were rewarded with the same liberality. His employment of Sebastian Cabot and his sons should make his memory dear to geographers, to whom the following entries respecting Newfoundland will not be uninteresting:—[49]

August 25, 1505.	£	s.	d.
To Clays, going to Richmond with wild cats and poppinjays of the new found island, and for his costs - - - - - - -	0	13	4
To Portuguese that brought poppinjays and cats of the mountain, with other stuff, to the King's grace - - - - - - -	5	0	0
To a priest that goeth to the new island -	2	0	0
To one that brought hawks from the new found island - - - - - - -	1	0	0
To one that brought the King a leopard - -	13	6	8
To the merchants of Bristol that have been in the new found land - - - - - -	20	0	0

[49] Privy-Purse Expenses of Henry VII., "Excerpta Historica."

To men of Bristol that found the isle - -	5	0	0
To John Carter, for going to the new isle, in reward - - - - - - - -	2	0	0
To Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkile, going to the new isle - - - - -	30	0	0
Delivered to Launcelot Thirkile going towards the new isle - - - - - -	20	0	0
To Launcelot Thirkile, of London, upon a prest for his ship going towards the new island -	20	0	0
To Richard Dekone, for a poppinjay - -	6	13	4
To him that found the new isle - - -	10	0	0
To one that brought the King a lion - -	2	13	4

He possessed princely tastes, and displayed them in a princely manner. In jewels and precious stones he laid out the enormous sum of £110,000. He gave a liberal price for choice books and MSS., and handsomely rewarded skilful dancers. He was also partial to shooting with the cross-bow—to the games of chess, tennis, to cards, and dice, at which he sometimes lost considerable sums. By encouraging the dreams of the alchemist, he advanced chemistry; and by similar gifts to those who sent him rare animals, gave an impulse to the study of natural history, and to the progress of geographical science.

He was a good French and Latin scholar, and possessed a real love both for literature and music. Very satisfactory proof of this was seen in the education he gave his successor, and in the employment of teachers of the highest eminence in every proper study and accomplishment.

APPENDIX.

OBJECT OF CÆSAR'S INVASION OF BRITAIN.

It has been stated, that the real object of Cæsar's invasion of the island was to procure slaves, the Romans at the period being great slave-takers, and a British slave being held at Rome in high estimation. The following passage in one of Cicero's Epistles appears to favour this idea. "Britannici belli exitus exspectatur: constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos molibus mirificis. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullum spem predæ, nisi ex Mancipiis, ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos exspectare."—*Lib. Ep.* iv. *Ep.* 16, *ad. Att.*

Cæsar, in his narrative, merely states that he exacted a yearly tribute, and demanded hostages, (*lib.* v. *cap.* 22); and in the next chapter acknowledges that he conveyed away to the mainland a large number of prisoners. As nothing more is said of either hostages or captives, it is not improbable that they all became slaves.

GRANTS MADE TO ALICE PERRERS.

It appears from the Patent Rolls that several grants were made to her by the King, *before* the Queen's death, which took place on the 15th of August, 1369. They were—42 Edward III.—The manor of Ardington in Berkshire, which belonged to Mary, late Countess Mareschal, the King's aunt, of the value of £80, to hold of the King in chief—the open fields in Merton, with the enclosure of Mortoscogh, in the forest of Inglewood—and a piece of land called Many Lawes, in Northumberland. Three years after the Queen's death, the King granted her a messuage and shop in the parish of All Saints, in Dowgate Ward, London, in fee by the accustomed services. The following year, the jewels, goods and chattels of the deceased Queen.—49 Edward III. The manor of Bramford Specke, with the advowson of the Church of Wemmeworth, in Devon, in fee.—50 Edward III. Pardon was granted her for many debts. The King bestowed other gifts, that are noticed in the text—but they are far from indicating the extravagance of a doting sovereign. She is described in one of these documents as a "damsel" attending on the late Queen—that is, a lady in waiting—and therefore must have been of good family.

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